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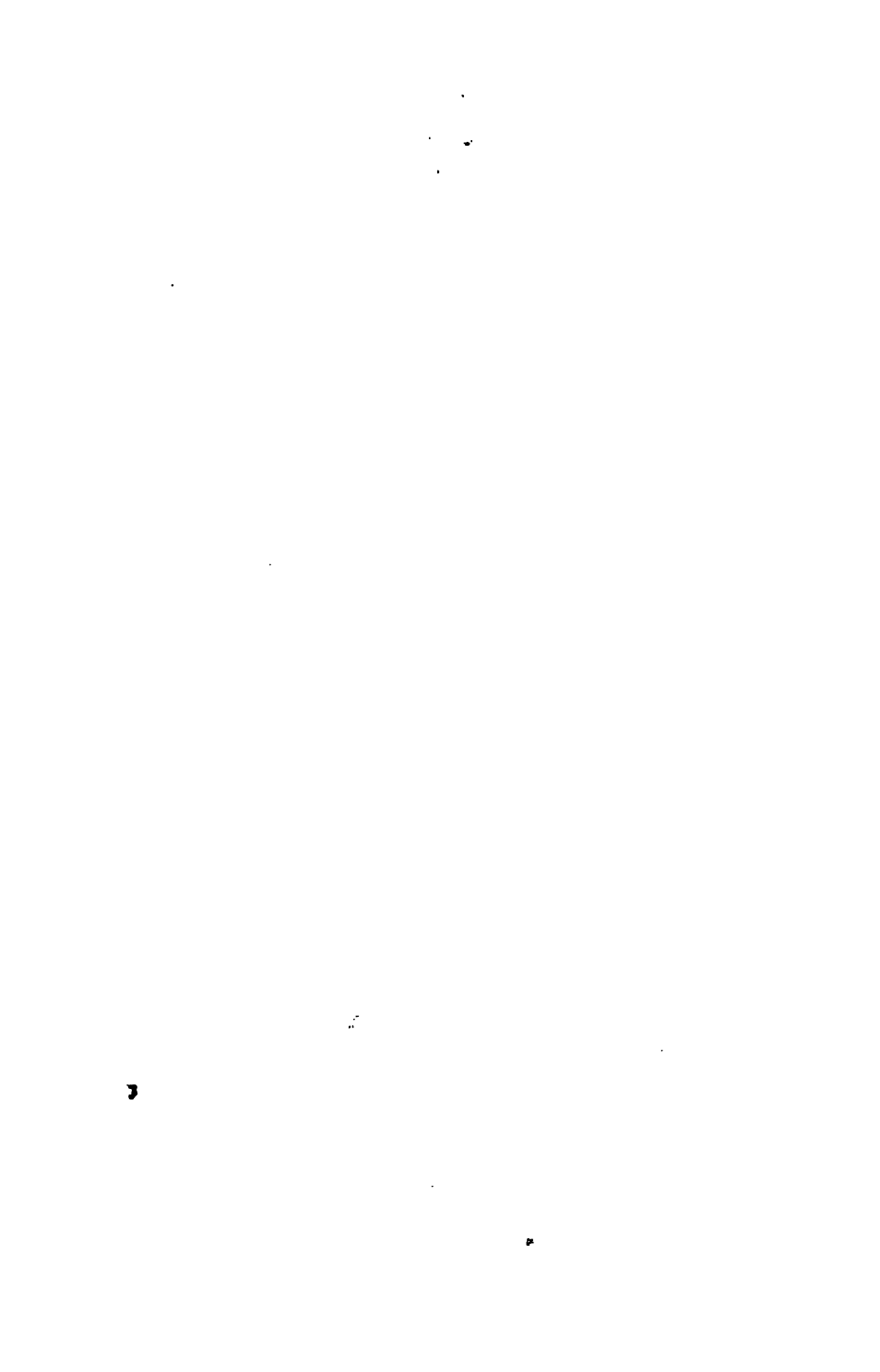














**ST. PATRICK,**  
(Apostle of Ireland.)

Born in the Year 361. Died in the Year 458.

THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF  
**IRELAND,**

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME,

*To the Invasion of the English under King Henry II.*

Being a Series of the principal transactions in that kingdom, for upwards of 3000 years.

ALSO,

**An Account of the Most Eminent Men**

Who flourished in the Irish Church, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries; and of those famous Irish who converted to the *Christian Faith*, the kingdoms of the Picts, Northumbrians, Mercians, East-Anglians and East Saxons, in Great Britain, Switzerland, Franconia, part of Flanders, and part of Germany.—Likewise, of those famous Irish who founded the UNIVERSITIES of Oxford, Paris and Pavia, and others of less note

WITH A DISSERTATION

**ON THE LAWS, CUSTOMS AND MANNERS**

*Of the Antient Irish, and the Genealogies of their Principal Families*

---

**BY T. COMERFORD, ESQ.**

---

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

Discovery of the True Cause, why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the Crown of England, until the beginning of the reign of King James the First.—First originally published in 1612, by Sir JOHN DAVIES.—Also, Remarks by the American Publishers.



**Baltimore:**

**PUBLISHED BY JAMES SCANLAN & B. EDES,**

*From the 3d Dublin Edition.*

**B. EDES, PRINTER.**

**1826.**

1831

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"The History of Ireland, from the earliest account of time, to the Invasion of the English under King Henry II. Being a Series of the principal transactions in that kingdom, for upwards of 3000 years. Also, an account of the most eminent men who flourished in the Irish church, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries; and of those famous Irish who converted to the Christian Faith, the kingdoms of the Picts, Northumbria, Mercians, East-Anglians and East Saxons, in Great Britain, Switzerland, Franconia, part of Flanders and part of Germany.— Likewise, of those famous Irish who founded the Universities of Oxford, Paris and Pavia, and others of less note. With a dissertation on the laws, customs and manners of the antient Irish, and the Genealogies of their principal families. By T. Comerford, Esq.— To which is added, a discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of the reign of king James the first.— Originally published in 1612, by Sir John Davies.— Also, remarks by the American publishers."

In conformity with the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to the Act, entitled, "An Act Supplementary to the Act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching, historical and other prints."

PHILIP MOORE,  
Clerk of the District of Maryland.

*To the Revolution of the English under King Henry II.  
Being a series of the principal transactions in that Man-  
agement, for upwards of 5000 years.*

1789.

### **An Account of the Most Eminent Men**

*Who flourished in the Irish Church, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th,  
10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries; and of those famous Irish who  
survived in the Christian Faith, the Kingdoms of the Scots, Scots-  
Irishmen, Meridians, East-England and East Saxons, in Great  
Britain, Switzerland, Prussia, part of Poland, and part of  
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Universities of Oxford, Paris and Poitiers, and others of less note.*

WITH A DISSENTATION

### **ON THE LAWS, CUSTOMS AND MANNERS**

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PHILIP MOORE,  
*Clerk of the District of Maryland.*

TO THE  
**PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

*Friends and Brethren,*

**THIS** epitome of *Irish History* hath a natural claim to your patronage and protection, as it was compiled principally for your use and information; and as history is allowed on all hands to be the most entertaining as well as the most useful study, we may reasonably conclude that of our mother country hath the first claim to our attention.

The antient Irish, to whose history we have entirely confined ourselves, have made as conspicuous a figure in the annals of time both in arts and arms, as most other nations, and their successors the modern Irish, have, though labouring under difficulties and discouragements, bravely and successfully emulated their progenitors, and notwithstanding the invidious reflections of illiberal and prejudiced writers, who have with as little truth as decency reflected on a whole people, ever remarkable for their courage, generosity, learning and hospitality, forced the unprejudiced world to acknowledge their just claim to fame, both as soldiers, scholars, and christians; which distinguished ranks that they may continue to enjoy to the latest time, is the sincere wish of him that is, with the greatest esteem,

Your countryman,  
and devoted servant,  
**J. COMERFORD.**

## ADVERTISEMENT.

It is not to be expected that every reader of this book will be pleased with every part of it. Like every history, it contains statements and commentaries at variance with the views of some individuals; but it is believed that no one can examine it, without entering with the most serious engagement of feeling and reflection upon the curious, and, to the present generation, novel account it furnishes of the discovery and settlement of Ireland. The publishers give the work just as they found it; undertaking nothing more than its republication, more than two centuries after it was written. They have not altered one word, nor suppressed one line, lest they should detract from the intrinsic value of the original. It appears to have been accounted a work of character, as it passed through several editions; and contains internal evidence of authenticity too strong to be contemned by even a sceptic reader.

The history direct comprises six books in natural order, with a dissertation on the laws, customs, manners, and language of the antient Irish, and a roll or table containing the genealogies of that people.

The supplement comprises a treatise by a different author, originally published *in sixteen hundred and twelve*, and entitled "a discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued, and brought under obedience to the crown of England, until the beginning of his majesty's reign,"\* meaning that of James I. This supplemental article will be found extremely entertaining to every one having the least curiosity concerning the Irish nation; and will well reward any reader by the information it imparts. It will be seen at once, that the noble author was a man of no ordinary intellect.

The original title page, dedication and preface have been preserved in this edition, which are copied precisely from the third European edition, printed in Dublin.

### THE PUBLISHERS.

*Baltimore 18th Sept. 1826.*

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\*See remarks by the publishers, at the end of the Book.

THE  
**PREFACE.**



**W**HOEVER attempts to write the history of any nation, more especially the antient part, can scarcely expect to escape censure, for many and obvious reasons. Of this I was sufficiently apprized, yet rather chose to rest on the candour of the reader, than relinquish a design to which I had no other motive than an endeavour to obviate some groundless calumnies thrown on the antient Irish by partial historians of a sister nation, and to afford the people of Ireland an easy opportunity of consulting the history of their own country. And I dare affirm that the bulk of my readers will agree, upon the perusal of this small volume, that it contains more narratives of transactions and other facts relative to the affairs of Ireland, than any history of that nation to the invasion of Henry II. yet published.

It must be confessed, however, that many of the accounts are short, several of the antient writers contenting themselves with barely mentioning that such a king fought so many battles, without giving further particulars. This omission perhaps was owing to their want of knowledge in military affairs; and the English history likewise labours under the same disadvantage. But I have in some measure made amends for this defect, by introducing several material transactions relating both to church and state, not comprised in any one history of Ireland.

I have fixed the foundation of the Pictish kingdom in North Britain, as it particularly relates to Ireland, vastly earlier than it is allowed by some modern English writers, because it agrees with Bede's account and that of a very eminent Irish author, who lived and wrote when that na-

tion was in being, which I hope will be considered as sufficient authority for this liberty.

I have also fixed the foundation of the antient kingdom of Scotland to the year 503, which is 800 years later than the historians of that nation have agreed to settle it. In this particular I have followed the Irish historians, who, in my opinion, were the best guides, since that famous colony went from Ireland according to the Scotch historians themselves; and also as the Irish accounts of the foundation thereof are corroborated by the famous Usher, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and other learned writers.

Many prejudiced persons, no doubt, will be displeased at my fixing the foundation of the Irish monarchy at so early a period; but to such as are not inclined to credit the Irish historians upon that head, I shall prove from other undeniable authorities, that Ireland is at least one of the most antient kingdoms in Europe, as appears from a manuscript copy of the acts of the council of Constance, in the king's library in Westminster, where it is said, that in the year 1417, when the legates of the king of England and the French king's ambassadors were at variance in that council touching precedence, the English orators, among other arguments, alleged the following; "It is well known, that according to Albertus Magnus and Bartholomæus in his book *de proprietatibus rerum*, the whole world being divided into three parts (to wit, Asia, Africa, and Europe,) Europe is divided into four kingdoms; namely, the Roman for the first, the Constantinopolitan for the second, the third the kingdom of Ireland, which is now translated unto the English, and the fourth the kingdom of Spain. Whereby it appeareth that the king of England, as king of Ireland, and his kingdom, are of the most eminent antient kings and kingdoms of all Europe; which prerogative the kingdom of France is not said to obtain." Now it is evident that the great antiquity of the Irish nation was fully believed at that time, since from this oration the precedence of the king of England's legates was allowed with respect to the kingdom of Ireland. And Camden, in his *Britannia*, likewise writes, "If it may be credited what historians relate, Ireland was not without good reason called by Plutarch, Ogygia, i. e. very antient; for the Irish

## THE PREFACE.

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begin their histories from the earliest account of time, whilst in comparison of them, the antiquity of all other countries is but in its infancy, and as it were of yesterday."

To take a survey of the English authors, who have wrote of Ireland, such as Giraldus Cambrensis, Spence, Stanburst, Morrison, Campion, and others, one would be inclined to imagine that they were treating of a nation of savages at one time, and at another of a nation of saints, so surprisingly contradictory are the accounts they give of the same people, which will evidently appear upon the perusal of their works. I can assign no reason for the misrepresentations of these authors, except that they were done with a view of glossing over the barbarities practised against the natives by the English on their first invading the country. But the piety of the Irish, after their conversion to christianity; at least till the Danish invasion, they could not with any degree of decency pass over unnoticed, since the history of their own nation abounds with encomiums on those famous Irish who brought the greatest part of the English, as well as other nations, to the light of the Gospel.

According to Camden, the Anglo-Saxons or antient English resorted to Ireland for education as to the great mart of learning; and it might then be said to be Europe, what Athens and Rome were to the rest of the world in times of old; so much did learning flourish in that island. Its monasteries in antient times, were so many colleges of learned divines, to which all degrees of people resorted for instruction, and from whence the church was continually supplied with able ministers, the benefit of which, says the learned Usher, was not confined to the limits of this island, but also extended to foreign countries. It was here, also, that both the knowledge of the scriptures and of all other good learning, was preserved in that inundation of barbarism, wherewith the whole west was in a manner overwhelmed, upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, by the northern nations. To this Curio bears the following testimony; "hitherto it might seem that the studies of wisdom should quite have perished, unless God had reserved a seed in some corner of the world. Among the Scottish and Irish something as



## PREFACE.

yet remained of the doctrine of the knowledge of God and of civil honesty, because there was no terror of arms in those utmost ends of the world. And we may there behold and adore the great goodness of God, that among the Scots, and in those places where no man would have thought it, so many great companies should be gathered together under a most strict discipline."

And Donat, bishop of Fesulæ, near Florence, who lived in the seventh or eighth century, thus describes the country and people.

"Finibus Occiduis describitur optima tellus,  
Nominè et antiquis Scotia scripta libris——  
Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis et auri,  
Commota, corporibus, aere, sole, solo;  
Melle fluit pulchris et lacteis Scotia campis  
Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, atque viris.  
Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi; sæva leonum  
Semina, nec unquam Scotica terra tulit  
Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba  
Nec conquesta canit garula rana lacu;"  
In qua Sctorum gentes habitare merentur  
Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.

The late ingenious and reverend Dr. Dunkin hath thus translated it.

"Far westward lies an isle of antient fame,  
By nature blessed, Hibernia is her name;  
Enroll'd in books: exhaustless is her store,  
Of veinysilver, and of golden ore:  
Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,  
With gems her waters, and her air with health:  
Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow,  
Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow:  
Her waving furrows float with bearded corn,  
And arms and arts her envy'd sons adorn.  
No savage bear with lawless fury roves,  
No ravenous lion thro' her peaceful groves:  
No poison there infects; no scaly snake  
Crepes thro' the grass, nor frog annoys the lake:  
An island worthy of its pious race,  
In war triumphant, and unmatch'd in peace.

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THE

# HISTORY OF IRELAND.

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## BOOK I.

*The extent of Ireland.—Whence so called.—Its first inhabitants under Partholanus.—The arrival of the Nemedians, and of the Africans.—Of the Firbolgs.—The arrival of the Tuatha de Danans.—Original of the Milesians or Gadelians, and of their conquest of Ireland.*

**I**RELAND is situated on the west of Great-Britain, being parted by an arm of the sea, called St. George's channel, in some places, not above sixteen leagues broad; and the island is, from south to north, above three hundred miles in length, and from east to west, two hundred in breadth. There is not in all Europe, a more temperate climate; because the extremes of heat and cold are generally qualified by the vapours arising from the surrounding sea.\* The soil of the island is very fertile, and produces grain of all sorts; though it most abounds with pasture-grounds its principal wealth consisting in a great breed of cattle, of which, when slaughtered, &c. large quantities are transported to France, Spain, and America. The sea is so well stocked with fish, that if the Irish were destitute of all other food, that alone might sustain them; but the chief advantage of Ireland is its convenient situation for trade and commerce, not only with all Europe, but other parts of the world, having a great number of excellent ports, which facilitate the exportation of its commodities. For these reasons, the English, ever since the subjection of the island, under Henry II. have considered it as a dangerous rival, as to commerce.

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\* Camden. Gir. Cam. Rapin.  
B

The natives called this island Erin; from which the names Ierna, Juverna, Iouernia, Overnia, and Hibernia are plainly derived. The Britons styled it Yverdon; the Romans, Hibernia; and the Saxons, Iren-landt, i. e. the country of Iren or Erin. The etymology of the word Erin, is not certainly known; but Camben, and with great probability, conjectures, that it comes from an Irish term, signifying west, because it is the most western island of Europe; and Bochartus derives Hibernia from Ibernæ, a Phœnician word, denoting the farthest habitation. Isidore and Bede style it Scotia with respect to the inhabitants, who, generally, came from Scythia, and were, therefore, named Scots, and also Scotia Major, to distinguish it from North-Britain, inhabited by the same nation. Plutarch calls it Ogygia, i. e. the most antient isle: but others\* term it Britania Parva, to distinguish it from Great-Britain, pretending that all the isles, in those parts, should be called the Britanic Islands. It was also called the Island of Saints from the extraordinary sanctity of its first Christians, many of whom went forth, and exceedingly promoted the conversion of the Albin-Scots, Picts, and Anglo-Saxons, such were Columbanus, Aidan, Finan, Colman, Kilian, and many others.

The first person we have any account of, with the face of authority, to make a settlement in this island was Partholanus. He was the son of Seara, the eighth from Noah, and of the tribe of Magog the son of Japhet. He began his voyage from the country of Migdonia, supposed to be Macedonia in Greece, and coming upon the coast of Ireland, landed at a place called Inbher Sceine in the west of Munster, in the year of the world 1978.† The persons who attended him, in this expedition, were his wife and his three sons, Rughraidhe, Slainge, and Laighline, with their three wives, and one thousand soldiers. The place where Partholanus fixed his residence was at Inis Samer near Earne. It received that name from a favourite greyhound of Partholanus's wife, whom he slew in a fit of jealousy. After thirty years possession of the island, Partholanus died at Moynealta, now Clontarff near Dublin, leaving the kingdom to his four sons born in Ireland, the three who accompanied him, having

\* Ptolemy. † Nennius. Psalter of Cashel.

died a few years after his arrival; their names were Er, Orbha, Fearon and Fearna, and these four divided the kingdom into four parts, each governing his particular province.\*

The Partholanians were at last visited by the plague, which destroyed their whole colony, after having been in possession of the island three hundred years. The historians are of opinion, that the colony's being destroyed in so particular a manner, was the judgment of Heaven, in that Partholanus had basely murdered his father some time before he left Greece.

A. M. } Ireland is said to have remained destitute of  
2308. } inhabitants thirty years, till Nemedius, descended from a brother of Partholanus, arrived upon the coast. He sailed from the Euxine sea with a fleet of thirty four transports, every vessel manned with thirty persons.† Nemedius had four sons which attended him, whose names were Starn, Jarbhainiel Faith, Ainnin and Fergus Leathdhearg. Macha, the wife of Nemedius, died in the twelfth year of his government; from her Ard-magh received its name, because she was buried there.

In the time of Nemedius, a fleet of pirates from Africa, who descended from Shem, the son of Noah, settled themselves in the North of the island and fought four bloody battles with the Nemedians; in the last of which they came off conquerors, and Nemedius having died with grief soon after his defeat, they exercised the most cruel tyranny over the vanquished. The Nemedians, at length, not being able to bear the slavery, mustered their forces, and attacked the African general with so much resolution, that they gained a complete victory.

During this attempt of the Nemedians to free themselves from the yoke of the Africans, More, one of the African generals, who was absent with his fleet in Africa, returned soon after the battle, with sixty sail, and landed an army in the north. The Nemedians opposed their landing, and there began a dreadful battle, in which the greatest part of both armies were slain. \* More had the good fortune to escape to his shipping, where, with the remains of his forces, and the advantage of his fleet,

\*O Flin. †Psalter of Tara. Psalter of Cashel.

he took possession of the whole island. Of the Nemedians, only thirty officers, and three generals escaped in a vessel, out of the whole army.

The chief of the Nemedians, upon this defeat, resolved unanimously to quit the island, rather than submit to the Africans; but they were seven years before they could put their design in execution. The three generals divided the shipping, Nemedius brought into the island, and received as many of their people on board, as were willing to follow their fortune, and stood out to sea. Jobhath sailed to the northern parts of Europe, and is said to have settled there, and from him the Tuatha de Danans descended. Briotan Maol settled in North Britain, and from him the Britons are said to derive their original.\* These two generals were grand-sons to Nemedius.

Simon Breac, grandson of Nemedius, who was one of the three generals that left the country and landed in Greece, where the posterity of these adventurers settled, and became a numerous people. The Grecians alarmed at their numbers, began to dread the consequences, and accordingly afflicted them with the worst of slavery, by obliging them to sink pits, and dig clay in the vallies, and carry it in leathern bags to the tops of the highest mountains and the most craggy rocks, in order to form a soil upon those barren places, and make them fruitful.

A. M. } The Nemedians groaning under the weight  
2503. } of their servitude, (from which they were  
called Firbolgs,) came to a resolution to shake off the yoke and quit the country; and this design was kept so secret, that the chief of them seized part of the Grecian shipping, and with five thousand that followed them, they set to sea, and sailed till they arrived in Ireland about one hundred and ninety-five years after the arrival of Nemedius.† They had five principal leaders in this voyage, who were brothers, viz. Slainge, Rughraidhe, Gann, Geanann and Seangan.‡

\* Psalter of Cashel. † Ibid.

‡ It is said there are three families in Ireland descended from the Firbolgs, viz. Gabhraidhe in Succa in Connaught, Uí Tairsigh in Criche O Failge, and Gaillium in Leinster.

The Firbolgs having met with assistance from the Nemedians, who were still under the tyranny of the Africans, took possession of the island, and divided it into almost five equal parts, which division remained with very little variation, till the days of Henry II of England. The eight following kings of their race reigned, till the arrival of the Tuatha de Danans, viz.

1. Slainge, the chief commander of the Firbolgs, was the first monarch of Ireland, and reigned one year; he died at a place called Dumha Slainge.\*

2. Rughraidhe his brother succeeded; he reigned two years, and was drowned in the Boyne.

3. Geanann and Seangann, both brothers to Rughraidhe succeeded, and reigned four years; they both died at a place called Freamhain.

4. Gann succeeded his brothers; he reigned five years, and was slain by his successor.

5. Fiacha surnamed Cinfionnan, i. e. white heads, because most of the Irish in his time, were remarkable for their white or fair hair. He was grandson to Rughraidhe, and he reigned five years; he was slain by his successor.

6. Riondal was son to Geanann: he reigned six years, and was killed in an engagement by his successor, at a place called Craoibhe.

7. Fiodhbhgean, son of Seangann, reigned four years, and fell in a battle he fought with his successor, at a place called Muigh Muirtheimhne.

8. Foehaidh, great grandson to Geanann, reigned ten years. He married Tailte, daughter to Maghmore, king of Spain.

A. M. } In the reign of this prince, a people called the  
2540. } Tuatha de Danans, (who were of the posterity  
of the third son of Nemedius that went out of Ireland,  
when the Africans took possession of the island, and set-  
tled in Achaia in Greece, and from thence to Denmark,  
and said to be great necromancers) landed on the island,  
under the conduct of Nuadha Airgidlamh, i. e. silver-  
handed, and engaging the nation of the Firbolgs in two  
battles, entirely defeated them, and took possession of

\* Conaire. Book of Invasions. Psalter of Tara.



of tongues at Babel.\* It was he that erected the schools the country. They are said to keep the command of the island one hundred and ninety-seven years, till the coming of the Milesians.\*

The following kings reigned in Ireland of the race of the Tuatha de Danans, viz.

1. Nuadha Airgidlamh reigned thirty years, and was slain in the last battle with the Firbolgs.

2. Breas, one of the chiefs, succeeded, and reigned seven years.

3. Luighaidh Lamfhadha, i. e. long-handed, was his successor, and reigned forty years. This prince was educated under Tailte, queen to the last king of the Firbolgs, and who was afterwards married to Duach Doil, one of the generals of the Tuatha de Danans; in memory of this princess he instituted the assembly of Tailtean, and appointed tilts and tournaments which resembled the Olympic games: they were observed on the first of August every year, a day which is still distinguished by the name of Lughnansa, from this prince.

4. Daghdah the Great succeeded, and reigned seventy years.

5. Dealbhaoith, nephew to the deceased monarch, succeeded, and reigned ten years.

6. Fiachadh, his son, succeeded him, and reigned ten years; he was slain at a place called Ard Breac, by one Eogan.

7. Mac Cuill, Mac Ceacht, and Mac Greine, the three sons of Cearmada, and grandsons to Daghdah the Great, succeeded next, and reigned alternately thirty years. Their queens names were Fodhla, Banba, and Eire. In the reign of these princes, the Milesians or Gadelians came into Ireland; but before I proceed to speak of their conquest of the island, it will be necessary to give an account of their original.

The antient Irish are originally descended from Feniusa Farsa, king of Scythia, who was the fourth descendant from Japhet, the son of Noah, and was a prince who applied himself to the study of letters, and had made himself master of the languages that followed the confusion

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\* Psalter of Cashel.

at Magh Seanir near Athens, according to Bellarmine, and having presided twenty years over the universal schools he had erected, he returned to Scythia and built seminaries of learning there.

This Scythian king having reigned twenty-two years over the Scythians, he fell sick, and being at the point of death, demised his kingdom to his eldest son Nenuall, and left nothing to Niul, the youngest, but the advantage arising from the public schools he had erected, and of instructing the youth of the country in the learned languages.

Niul having employed himself in instructing the Scythian youth, for some time, with great reputation, the fame of which coming into Egypt, Pharaoh Cingris invited him to come and reside in his country and instruct its youth. The prince accepted of the invitation, and when he had been in Egypt some time, the king delighted with his learning and modesty, bestowed upon him his daughter, a princess of great beauty, and gave him the lands of Capacirunt, on the coast of the Red-Sea

After his marriage with the Egyptian princess, he erected seminaries in Capacirunt, and taught the sciences, and the universal languages to the youth of Egypt. About this time his princess was delivered of a son, who was called Gaodhal after the learned Gadel, who digested the Irish language into form and regulation.

During the time that Niul resided at Capacirunt, with his wife Scota and his son Gaodhal, the children of Israel, under the conduct of Moses and Aaron, attempting to free themselves from the slavery of the Egyptians, encamped near him; upon which Niul went himself to make discoveries, to know their business, and to what nation they belonged. Aaron received him very kindly, and beginning the history of the Hebrew nation, related the several adventures of that people; and of the bondage they had endured for many years under the Egyptian king, and how the God they worshipped had worked wonders for their deliverance, and had punished with the most dreadful judgments, the cruelty of that barbarous prince. Niul, affected with this relation, offered

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\*P. of Cashel. P. Tara. W. Book. B. of Invasions.

his friendship to Aaron, and asked whether he had provision sufficient for so numerous a people; and if they were in any distress, he promised to furnish him with corn and all other necessaries which his country produced. Aaron returned him thanks for his civility, and took his leave. Upon his return to the camp, he told Moses all that had passed between him and Niul. And Niul, when he came home, related the history of the Israelites to some of the principal of his people, and repeated the conversation he had with one of their leaders.

The same night of this conference, Gadelas, the son of Niul, had the misfortune to be bit by a serpent in the neck. The venom instantly spread itself, so that the whole mass of blood was poisoned. Niul took his expiring son to Moses, and entreated him to pray to the God of Israel to heal him. Moses immediately addressed himself to the Almighty, and laying his rod upon the wound, his son instantly was cured, but there remained a green spot upon the place, for which reason he was called Gaodhal Glas or Gadelas, and the Irish Gadelians.

Niul having received his son in perfect health from Moses, in return supplied the Israelites with provisions for their journey; he at length began to be apprehensive, that his father-in-law would be displeased at his conduct, in assisting those people, whom he looked upon as slaves, and in a state of rebellion. He discovered his fears to Moses, who advised him, with his people, to accompany him into the promised land, where he should have a part assigned him for the support of him and his followers; or that he would put the shipping, belonging to Egypt, into his hands, so that he might dispose of himself and subjects with safety, till he found how the great God would deal with Pharaoh, who resolved to pursue the Israelites, and force them back into bondage. Niul agreed to the last proposal, and Moses accordingly made himself master of the shipping, and put him into possession of them. Niul with his people, went on board, and stood out to sea, expecting the event. The next day the waters of the Red-Sea were divided, and the Hebrews marched on dry land, through the midst of it: and Pharaoh pursuing them, was drowned with all his host.

Upon this miraculous overthrow of the Egyptians, Niul resolved to return, and fix himself and his people in their former possessions, which he immediately effected. Niul, after this, had many children, and lived till his sons were able to bear arms, and then died, leaving behind him the character of one of the most learned and valiant princes of his time.

Gadelas, upon the death of his father, took upon him the command of his people, and admitted his mother to have a share of the government, and they reigned together with great wisdom and unanimity during her life. Gadelas had a son whom he called Easru, who was the father of Sru. This Sru, after the decease of his father and grand-father, ruled over the territory of his ancestors.

The successor of Pharaoh Cingris, who perished in the Red-Sea, was Pharaoh an Tuir, who upon his accession to the throne, to repair the loss sustained in the late reign, raised a numerous army, with a design to be revenged upon the posterity of Niul, for seizing the shipping, and assisting the Israelites with provisions. When his army was completed, he entered the country of the Gadelians with fire and sword. Upon which Sru, with the principal of his people, embarked in four ships, and set out to sea and landed in the isle of Crete now Candia, where, it is said, some of his posterity remain to this day. Upon the death of Sru, Heber Scot, his son, succeeded in the command. It was this chief that conducted the Gadelians out of Crete, into Scythia.

Upon the arrival of the Gadelians in Scythia, they were harassed with continual wars, by their kindred the posterity of Nenuel, the son of Feniusa Farsa, who imagined they would lay claim to the government of the country, and in one of the engagements between them, Aidnon fought hand to hand with the king of Scythia, and slew him. Their dissensions continued seven years.

Upon the death of Reffleoir, king of Scythia, his two sons, Nenuel and Riffil, resolving to revenge their father's death, raised a great army, to drive the Gadelians out of the country. The Gadelians, unable to engage with the Scythian forces, came to a resolution to leave the country, before they were pressed to a battle; and accord-

ingly they retired with all speed into the country of the Amazons, where they continued the space of a year under the conduct of Aidnon and Heber. They then set out to sea, and were drove on an island called Caronia in the Pontic-Sea, where they staid a year and a quarter; and here Heber died. From thence they steered their course under the command of Lamhfionn, and landed in Gothland, where they continued one hundred and fifty years. Here Lamhfionn had a son called Heber Glunfionn.

Bratha, the son of Deaghatha, the eighth descendant from Heber Glunfionn, was the principal commander in conducting the Gadelians from Gothland into Spain. When he landed in Spain, the posterity of Tubal, the son of Japhet, were the inhabitants of that country. He fought many battles with the natives, and always came off conqueror. He had a son born to him in Spain, whom he called Breogan, who was a valiant prince, and grandfather of Milesius, king of Spain.

This Milesius having performed many heroic actions in Spain, fitted out a fleet in order to pay a visit to the king of Scythia, who was his relation. He had no sooner arrived there, than Riffleoir, then king, received him and his retinue, with great civility; and he so behaved that the king made him his chief favourite, general of his army, and gave him his daughter Seang to be his wife. Milesius having the sole command of the army, soon enlarged the bounds, and subdued the enemies of the Scythian nation, which occasioned him to become the darling of the people. This raised a jealousy in the king, who was resolved to put him to death; but he being informed of it, assembled his followers, who immediately forced their way into the palace, killed the king, and then retired to their shipping, and set sail for Egypt. Upon their arrival in Egypt, they found that country engaged in a desperate war with the Ethiopians. Pharaoh Nectonibus observing the valour of Milesius, made him general of his forces, and he made such good use of it, that he soon obliged the Ethiopians to become tributaries to the crown of Egypt. For these services, the king gave his daughter Scota to him to be his wife, the Scythian princes being dead. Having staid seven years in Egypt, he took his

leave of the court, and embarked himself and followers, in sixty ships, and then set sail, and having visited Thrace, Gothland, and Britain, he at length arrived on the coast of Biscay in Spain, where he unladed his ships, and set all his people on shore. On his arrival, he found the Spaniards in the most deplorable circumstances, overrun by the Goths, and other foreigners, wherefore he drew all his forces together, and gave them battle, in which the foreigners were routed. He pursued his blow, and with the same good fortune defeated them in fifty-four battles, and drove them quite out of the kingdom.

The Gadelians having encreased, since their settling in Spain, to a great multitude, they resolved to attempt the conquest of some other country, there to fix their abode. They agreed in this the sooner, because there had been a great scarcity of corn, and other provisions, in Spain; they were also continually alarmed with the inroads of the Goths and other foreigners, insomuch that they were obliged to be continually in arms. Ith, the uncle of Milesius, a brave and enterprising general, was fixed on to make discovery of a western island, which, by an old prophecy, was to be inhabited by their family.

Ith having fitted out a ship with provisions and other necessities and manned her with one hundred and fifty brave Gadelns, set sail with his son Lughaidh, and landed upon the northern coast of Ireland. Upon his landing, a number of the inhabitants came to the shore, and called to him in Irish, to know his business, and the country he was of. He answered them in the same language, and told them that he was of the same tribe with themselves, decended from the great Magog, and that the original Irish was the language of his family.

The inhabitants having informed Ith, that the island was governed by three princes, the sons of Cearnada Miorbheoil, as was before mentioned; and that they were at a place called Olieach Neid in the province of Ulster, and were like to come to blows about some jewels that were left them by their ancestors; he marched with one hundred of his men to the place where these princes were. Upon his arrival, he was received with the greatest marks of respect by the three princes, who left their differences to this stranger's determination. Ith was of

opinion, that the jewels should be equally divided, which was immediately agreed to. He concluded this interview, with saying, that the island abounded with all the necessaries of life, in so plenteous a manner, that there was a sufficiency for all their wants, and even their ambition, so that he thought they had no occasion to quarrel among themselves; and having acknowledged their civilities, he took his leave, and set out to go on board.

The three princes, upon Ith's encomiums of the island, began to reflect, that if he should return home, he would soon come back with a numerous force and make a conquest of the kingdom; wherefore Mac Cuil, one of the brothers was dispatched with one hundred and fifty men in pursuit of Ith, whom they overtook, and a smart engagement followed, in which Ith was mortally wounded, at Mugh Ith, so called from this general. The Gadelians immediately retired to their ship with Ith, where he died of his wounds.

About this time died Milesius, king of Spain, after a glorious reign of thirty-six years. All the historians agree in giving him the character of one of the bravest princes of his time.

Upon the arrival in Spain of the Gadelians from Ireland, Lughaidh shewed his father Ith's body to the sons of Milesius, and related the treacherous circumstances of his death; which so enraged them, that they solemnly swore to revenge the death of his father upon the sons of Cearnade, and take possession of the kingdom.

A. M. } Pursuant to this resolution, the Milesians set  
2737 } sail for Ireland in thirty ships, from Tor Breogan in Galicia, and many others followed them, in order to share in the intended conquest, and landed in the west of Munster, and then marched in good order to the palace of Temair, where the three princes kept their court with great magnificence. Amergin one of the sons of Milesius addressing himself to the three kings, demanded of them to resign their government, or to hazard a pitched battle, which he insisted upon in revenge for the death of the brave Ith, whom they caused to be basely slain. The princes replied, that they were not in a state to hazard a battle, having no standing forces, therefore they would leave the whole affair to the arbitration of Amer-

gin, whom they took to be a person of great judgment, but threatened him withal, that if he imposed any unjust conditions, they would certainly destroy him by their enchantments.

Upon this Amergin ordered the Gadeliens immediately to their ships, and to sail out of the harbour, and then made this proposal to the Tuatha de Danans, that if they could hinder his men from landing, in the island, he and his fleet would return to Spain; but if he could in spite of them, land his men upon their coasts, they should become tributaries. This was well received by the princes of the island, who, it is said, confided much in their diabolical arts.

Amergin, and his Gadeliens, had no sooner weighed anchor and stood out to sea, than a violent storm arose which made the Milesian shipping fall foul of one another, so that the whole fleet had like to have been destroyed. The two ships, commanded by Donn and Ir, sons of Milesius, were broke to pieces on the rocks, and all perished. Arranan, the youngest son, being on the top, to make discoveries, was blown off, and falling on the deck, instantly died. Heremon, another son of Milesius, with part of the fleet, was driven to the left, and arrived at Inbher Colpa, now Drogheda, so called from Colpa, another son, who tempting to land here, was drowned.

Heber landed his forces at Inbher Sceine in the county of Kerry, and soon came to an engagement with Eire, the wife of Mac Greine, at the mountain of Mis, in which the enemy lost one thousand men, and the Milesians three hundred, among the latter were Scota, the widow of Melesius, and the lady Fais, wife to one of the chiefs of the Gadeliens. Eire retreated with the remaining part of her troops, to Tailtean.

After the battle of Mis, the victorious Heber marched his troops to Drogheda, where he joined Heremon with his forces, and then sent a challenge to the princes of the island, to come to a pitched battle, in order to decide the government of the country. The Tuatha de Danans accepted of it, and advanced with their troops, headed by their three princes to Tailtean, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the sons of Ceormade and their three queens, and almost their whole army, were slain.



Upon this defeat, Heber and Heremon took possession of the government of the island, and ruled jointly one year, till an unhappy difference arose between them, occasioned by the ambition of Heber's wife, which at last ended in the death of Heber Fionn, who was the eldest son of Milesius, at the battle of Geisiol in Leinster, fought with Heremon in 2738. The occasion of this battle is related thus: There being three exceeding fruitful vallies in the Island, two of which was in Heber's division, his queen would not be contented unless she was in possession of the three; she therefore persuaded her husband to wage war with his brother, in order to gain it by the sword, in which conflict he was slain, as above.

Heber and Heremon, upon their conquest of Ireland, are said to have divided it as follows, viz. Heber was possessed of the two provinces of Munster, Heremon of Leinster and Connaught, they divided Ulster between Heber, the son of Ir, their brother's son, and some others of the principal Gadelians; and the Cantred of Corckal-ughe, in the county of Corke, to Lughaidh, the son of Ith.\* From these princes, the generality of the antient Irish are descended.

I shall conclude this book with the character of the Irish, as I find it given by a celebrated English author, whom we cannot suspect of partiality in their favour:— 'They are, says he, of a middle stature, strong of body, of an hotter and moister nature than many other nations, of wonderful soft skins, and by reason of the tenderness of their muscles, they excel in nimbleness, and the flexibility of all parts of their body; they are reckoned of a quick wit, prodigal of their lives, enduring travel, cold and hunger, given to fleshly lusts, light of belief, kind and courteous to strangers, constant in love, impatient of abuse and injury, in enmity implacable, and in all affections most vehement and passionate.† Allowances being made for the infirmities of human nature, this character is no disadvantageous one. Their vices are common in some degree or other, to all nations; and I believe none ever surpassed them in their virtues. According to this account

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\* Psalter of Tara. † Camden. Forman.

of them, they must be faithful friends, but most dangerous enemies, and seem to be furnished by nature, with all the qualities required in a soldier, which will more plainly appear in the course of this history.

## BOOK II.

*Containing the reigns of one hundred and eighteen monarchs of Ireland, from Heremon the first sole monarch of the Milesian race, to Laogaire, in whose reign St. Patrick converted the Irish to Christianity.*

A. M. }  
2738. } **H**EREMON having gained a complete victory over his brother Heber, as has been related in the preceding book, he reigned sole monarch of Ireland fourteen years. However his government was interrupted by the friends of Heber, which obliged him sometimes to take the field. In one of these engagements he slew his only surviving brother Amergin who was a brave commander, in the battle of Cuil Breagh.\*

In the beginning of this reign, the Picts landed in Leinster in great numbers, at the time Criomhthan Sciathbheil was governor of that province, under the conduct of Gud, and Cathluan his son.† The reason of the Picts quitting their country, is thus related. Gud, the general of the Picts, in the service of Policornus king of Thrace, had a daughter, a beautifullady, who so captivated the monarch's heart, that he was resolved to have her for his concubine. The king's design was soon discovered to Gud, who found means to destroy him for the affront he intended his daughter, and then, with his Picts, left the country. After marching through the dominions of several princes, they arrived in Gaul, where they were received into pay by the king of that country, who assigned them a tract of land for their support, where they built a city, and called it Pictaviam, now Poitiers in France. Gud having related the occasion of his leaving Thrace to the king, that prince made some attempts to debauch the lady himself; upon which her father, by stratagem, seized upon the king's shipping, and set sail with his people, and landed in Leinster, as before related.

\* Psal. of Cashel. Psal. of Tara. †Psal. of Cashel.

The governor of Leinster received them kindly, and entered into a strict friendship with Gud and his son, because he wanted their assistance against some Britons, who made great depredations on both sides the river Slainge, and used poisoned weapons in their attacks, which had that effect, to make the wound mortal. The governor relating this savage custom of the Britons to the general of the Picts; he said, he had a druid with him, who, by his knowledge in physic, would, no doubt, prepare an antidote against the poison of those barbarous enemies. The druid accordingly prepared a bath near the place of action, which entirely defeated the effects of the poison, and the Irish gained a complete victory over the Britons, and obliged them to quit the kingdom.\*

This victory being gained by the advice of the Picts, Gud and his son Cathluan, their leaders, formed a design to possess themselves of the government of Leinster, and settle there; but this resolution being timely discovered to Heremon, he raised an army, and marched with all speed to drive them out of the country. The Picts finding they were not in a condition to resist the king, surrendered themselves to his mercy. Heremon received their submission, withal telling them, that there was a country lying east and by north of Ireland, where they might make a settlement. Upon this they resolved to quit the island; but first desired to have some women along with them, upon whose issue, they solemnly swore, the government of the country, if ever it came into their hands, should descend. This law was in force in Bede's time. The king complied with their request, and accordingly delivered to them three women of quality who were widows; and Cathluan espoused one of them, and then set sail for North-Britain, where he founded the Pictish kingdom, and it is said seventy kings of his line governed that nation. Heremon also sent along with them, a great number of the Tuatha de Danans, and of the posterity of Breogon, who, in some time after, got large possessions in South-Britain, and were called Brigantes.

A. M. } 2. Muimhne, Luigne, and Laighne succeeded  
2752. } their father Heremon, and reigned jointly three

\*Psalter of Cashel.

years, when Muimhne died at Magh Cruachain, and Luigne and Laighne were slain by the sons of Heber at the battle of Ard Ladhraín.

A. M. } 3. Er, Orbha, Fearon and Feargna sons of  
2755. } Heber governed the kingdom one year, and were slain in an engagement with Irial.

A. M. } 4. Irial the son of Heremon, succeeded them,  
2756. } and reigned ten years. He was a learned prince, and esteemed a prophet. He fought four battles, with success against his enemies, and died at a place called Magh Muagh.

A. M. } 5. Eithrial, his son, succeeded him, and  
2766. } reigned twenty years. He was also a learned prince, having wrote the history and travels of the Gadeliáns. He was at last slain by Conmaol, at a battle in Leinster.

A. M. } 6. Conmaol, son of Heber, seized the crown,  
2786. } and reigned thirty years. He fought twenty-five battles with the family of Heremon, and was slain by the son of his successor.

A. M. } 7. Tighermas, of the line of Heremon, suc-  
2816. } ceeded and reigned fifty years. He fought twenty-seven battles with the posterity of Heber, and always came off conqueror. This prince ordered that all his subjects should be distinguished by their garb, viz. the clothes of a slave one colour, a soldier two, a commanding officer three, gentlemen who kept hospitable tables for strangers four, the nobility five, the king, queen and royal family six colours, and the chronologers and persons of eminent learning were indulged the same number. It was this prince that introduced idolatry among the Irish, and erected pagan altars. He was struck dead, with many of his subjects, worshipping his idol Cromcruadh, the same god that Zoroaster adored. From the adoration paid to this idol, and the kneeling posture of those who worshipped it, the field in Breisne was called Magh Sleachta. In his reign a gold mine was discovered near the Liffey, of which great profit was made.

A. M. } 8. Eochaidh Eadgothach of the posterity of  
2866. } Ith, seized the throne, and reigned four years, and was slain by Cearmna.

A. M. } 9. Cearmna and Sobhairce, of the line of Ir,  
 2870. } succeeded, and reigned joint monarchs forty  
 years. Sobhairce was at last slain by Eochaidh Mean,  
 and Cearmna was slain in the battle of Dunn Cearmna  
 by Eochaidh Faobharglas. These princes built two roy-  
 al palaces, one in the north called Dunn Sobhairce, and  
 the other in the south called Dunn Cearmna.

A. M. } 10. Eochaidh Faobharglas, of the line of He-  
 2910. } ber, succeeded and reigned twenty years. This  
 prince subdued part of North-Britain, and obliged the  
 Picts to a constant payment of their tribute, which they  
 had often neglected since the reign of Heremon. He also  
 fought four battles, with success, against the posterity of  
 Heremon. He was at last slain in the battle of Corman  
 by his successor.

A. M. } 11. Fiachadh Labhruine, of the line of Here-  
 2930. } mon, mounted on the throne, and reigned twenty-  
 four years. He engaged the family of Heber in four  
 battles, in the last of which he was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 12. Eochaidh Mumho succeeded and reigned  
 2954. } twenty-two years. He was of the line of He-  
 ber, and was slain by his successor at the battle of Cliach.

A. M. } 13. Aongus surnamed Ollmuchach, i. e. large  
 2976. } swine, because he had the largest breed of swine  
 in the kingdom, seized upon the throne, and reigned eight-  
 teen years. He was the son of Fiachadh Labhruine, and  
 he fought thirty battles against the Picts, and the inhabit-  
 ants of the Orcades, with success; he also fought four bat-  
 tles against the posterity of Heber, and was at length slain  
 by Eana Firtheach.

A. M. } 14. Eadna Airgtheach, son of Eochaidh Mum-  
 2994. } ho, succeeded, and reigned twenty-seven years.  
 This prince took care to reward the courage of his sold-  
 iers, by causing a number of silver shields and targets to  
 be made, which he distributed to the most deserving of  
 them. However, he was killed by his successor in the  
 battle of Raighne.

A. M. } 15. Rotheachta I. grandson of Aongus, suc-  
 3021. } ceeded, and reigned twenty-five years. He was  
 at last slain by his successor at Rath Cruachan.

A. M. } 16. Seadhna, of the posterity of Ir, governed  
 3046. } next, and reigned five years. He unhappily fell

by the hands of his son, when the pirates attacked Cruachan.

A. M. } 17. Fiachadh surnamed Fionnsgothach, i. e.  
3051. } white flowers, because, in his time, a great quantity of such flowers grew, the juice of which the inhabitants used for drink, succeeded his father, and reigned twenty years. This prince was killed by Muinheamhoin.

A. M. } 18. Muinheamhoin, of the line of Heber, seized the government and reigned five years. This prince ordered the gentlemen of Ireland to wear a chain about their necks, to distinguish them from the populace. He also had several helmets made, with the neck and forepieces of gold; which he bestowed on the most deserving of his army. He died of the plague at Magh Aidhne.

A. M. } 19. Aildergoidh, his son, succeeded him, and  
3076. } reigned seven years. This prince introduced the wearing of gold rings, which he bestowed on persons who excelled in arts and sciences, or wherein any other way particularly accomplished. He was slain by Ollamh Fodhla at the battle of Teamhair or Tarah.

A. M. } 20. Ollamh Fodhla, the son of Fiachadh Fionnsgothach, succeeded, and reigned thirty  
3083. } years. All the historians agree in giving this prince the character of one of the most accomplished princes of his time. He introduced the most useful laws for the well governing his people. It was he that first ordained the royal assembly of Tarah, and also relinquished many of his prerogatives for the benefit of the state. He also wrote a very correct history of the several travels, voyages, adventures, wars, &c. of his royal ancestors.\* He likewise ordained, that every family should be distinguished by coats of arms, for the future, according to their merit, the Milesians having made use of no other arms of distinction in their banners, since their arrival in the island, than a dead serpent and the rod of Moses, after the example of their Gadelian ancestors. This great prince was succeeded by his son,

A. M. } 21. Fionnachta, who reigned fifteen years.  
3113. } His reign was remarkable for vast quantity of

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\*Psalter of Tara. Psalter of Cashel.

snow which fell, the like never seen in the kingdom before. This prince died at Magh Inis, and was buried there.

A. M. } 22. Shanell, his brother, succeeded, and reign-  
3128. } ed fifteen years. His reign was distinguished for  
the extraordinary health the people of Ireland enjoyed.  
This prince died at Tarah, but of what distemper is not  
mentioned.

A. M. } 23. Geide surnamed Ollgothach, i. e. loud  
3143. } talking, succeeded his brother, and reigned  
seventeen years. This prince was slain by his nephew.

A. M. } 24. Fiachadh, the son of Fionnachta, who  
3160. } succeeded him, reigned twenty-four years. He  
was at length killed by his uncle Geide Ollgothach's son,  
who succeeded him.

A. M. } 25. Bearngall reigned twelve years, and was  
3184. } slain by Oillioll the son of Slanoll.

A. M. } 26. Oillioll succeeded, and reigned sixteen  
3196. } years. He was at last slain by his successor.

A. M. } 27. Siorna surnamed Saoghalach, i. e. great  
3212. } age, of the line of Heremon, seized the govern-  
ment, and reigned twenty-one years. He was slain at  
Aillin by Rotheacta.

A. M. } 28. Rotheacta II. of the line of Heber, suc-  
3233. } ceeded him and reigned seven years. He was  
burned to death in his palace of Dunn Sobhairce, by ac-  
cident.

A. M. } 29. Elim, his son, succeeded him, and reign-  
3240. } ed but one year. He was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 30. Giallachadh, grand-son of Siorna Saoghal-  
3241. } ach, succeeded, and reigned nine years. He  
was slain by Art Imleach, at Moighe Muadh.

A. M. } 31. Art Imleach, son of Elim, succeeded, and  
3250. } reigned twenty-two years. He was slain by his  
successor.

A. M. } 32. Nuadha Fionn Fail, son of Giallachadh,  
3272. } obtained the crown and reigned twenty years.  
He was at last slain by his successor.

A. M. } 33. Breafriagh, the son of Art Imleach, suc-  
3292. } ceeded, and reigned nine years. He fought sev-  
eral successful battles against the pirates that infested  
the coast, and was at length killed by Eochaidh Aphthach  
at Carn Chluain.



A. M. } 34. Eochaidh Apthach, of the line of Ith, ob-  
3301. } tained the crown, and reigned only one year, ev-  
ery month of which was visited with a dreadful plague,  
that swept away great numbers of his subjects, and occa-  
sioned his name. He was killed by his successor.

A. M. } 35. Fionn, of the line of Ir, seized upon the  
3302. } government, and reigned twenty years. He was  
slain by Seadhna Jonaraice.

A. M. } 36. Seadhna Jonaraice, of the line of Heber,  
3322. } succeeded him, and reigned twenty years. He  
was the first monarch of Ireland that settled a constant pay  
upon the officers and soldiers of the army. He also or-  
dained military laws, and instituted a form of discipline,  
which was a standard to the Irish for many ages. He  
was inhumanly murdered by having his limbs torn asun-  
der, by his successor.

A. M. } 37. Simeon Breac, of the line of Heremon, by  
3342. } this cruel act obtained the government, and  
reigned six years. He was at length seized by Duach  
Fionn, the son of his predecessor, who punished him  
with the same cruel death he had inflicted upon his fa-  
ther.

A. M. } 38. Duach Fionn, son of Seadhna Jonaraice,  
3348. } succeeded, and reigned five years. He was  
slain by his successor.

A. M. } 39. Muireadhach Balgrach, son of Simeon,  
3353. } Breac, succeeded, and reigned four years,  
when he was killed by his successor.

A. M. } 40. Eadhna Dearg, son of Duach Fionn, suc-  
3357. } ceeded and reigned twelve years. In this  
prince's reign a mint was erected at Airgiod Ross and mo-  
ney coined. He died of the plague, which destroyed vast  
numbers of the inhabitants, and was buried at Sliabh Mis.

A. M. } 41. Lughaidh Jardhoinn, succeeded his father,  
3369. } and reigned nine years. This prince was slain  
by his successor at Rath Clochair.

A. M. } 42. Siorlamh, called so from the length of his  
3378. } hands, succeeded, and reigned sixteen years.  
He descended from Ollamh Fodhla, and was slain by his  
successor.

A. M. } 43. Eochaidh Uiarceas, son of Lughaidh Jard-  
3394. } hoinn, seized the crown, and reigned twelve

years. This prince was banished the kingdom two years before he came to the government; and having fitted out thirty ships he set to sea, from whence he would often come upon the coasts, and plunder the inhabitants; and for the better conveniency of landing his men, he invented a sort of cock boats, that were easy to manage, and covered them with the skins of beasts. This invention gave occasion to his name; and these skiffs are known in the Irish language by the name of Curachs or Curachain, and are made use of in some parts of the island to this day. This prince was slain by Eochaidh Fiadhmhuine.

A. M. } 44. Eochaidh Fiadhmhuine, and his brother  
3406. } Conuing Beg Aglach, of the line of Heremon, succeeded, and reigned jointly five years. Eochaidh was slain by Lughaidh Lamhdhearg.

A. M. } 45. Lughaidh Lamhdhearg, the son of Eoc-  
3411. } haidh Uiarceas, seized upon the crown, and reigned seven years. Conuing Beg Aglach made war upon him, and slew him, and thereby revenged his brother's death.

A. M. } 46. Conuing Beg Aglach succeeded, and reign-  
3418. } ed ten years. He received the name of Beg Aglach, because he was resolute and fearless, exposing his life with the greatest bravery in the heat of action, always fighting against the enemies of his country with the greatest success, and governed his subjects with justice and moderation. However, with all these shining qualities, he could not secure himself against the attempts of Art, who slew him.

A. M. } 47. Art, son of Lughaidh Lamhdhearg, seized  
3428. } upon the crown, and reigned six years. He was slain by Duach Laghrach, with the assistance of his father, who was this prince's successor.

A. M. } 48. Fiachadh Tolgrach, of the line of Heremon, mounted the throne, and reigned seven  
3434. } years. He was at last slain by Oillioll Fionn.

A. M. } 49. Oillioll Fionn, the son of Art, succeeded,  
3441. } and reigned nine years. He was at last slain by Airgidmhar, in an engagement, with the assistance of Fiacha and his two sons.

A. M. } 50. Eochaidh, Oillioll's son, however succeed-  
3450. } ed him, and reigned seven years. He made a

peace with Duach, but it did not continue long, for he slew him.

A. M. } 51. Airgiodmbar, the son of Siorlamh, of the  
3475. } line of Ir, seized upon the crown, and reigned  
twenty-three years. He was at last slain by Duach Laghrach and Lughaidh Laighdhe.

A. M. } 52. Duach Laghrach, the son of Fiachadh,  
3480. } mounted the throne, and reigned ten years. The reason why he was distinguished by the name of Laghrach, was because he was so strict and hasty in the execution of justice, that he was impatient, and would not admit of a moment's delay, till the criminal was seized and tried for the offence. He was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 53. Lughaidh Laighdhe, son of Eochaidh, of  
3490. } the line of Heber, succeeded, and reigned seven years; he was at last slain by Aodh Ruadh.

A. M. } 54. Aodh Ruadh, grandson of Airgiodmhar,  
3497. } succeeded, and reigned twenty-one years, by an agreement made with Diothorba and Ciombaoth, his uncle's sons, who were to succeed and reign in the like manner. He, afterwards, was unfortunately drowned at Easruadh.

A. M. } 55. Diothorba succeeded according to agree-  
3518. } ment, and reigned twenty-one years, and then delivered the crown into the possession of his successor.

A. M. } 56. Ciombaoth succeeded and reigned twenty-one years.  
3539. }

A. M. } 57. Machadh Mongruadh, daughter to Aodh  
3559. } Ruadh, seized upon the crown, in right of her deceased father whose turn it was to sit upon the throne. She was a princess of a masculine temper, and fought several battles with Diothorba and his five sons who pretended to the crown, and had the good fortune to overcome them; and after the death of their father, to oblige them for their security, to retire to the woods and marshes. She then married Ciombaoth, the last reigning monarch, by which means she kept him from disturbing her. But still she had her uneasiness, knowing her rivals were still in the kingdom, and accordingly resolved to have them in her power. She, at length, hearing where they were, set out in pursuit of them, and took the five brothers by stratagem. When she brought them to her court,

her council was for putting them to death; but she being of a merciful disposition, would not consent to the taking away of their lives, so changed their intended punishment to that of erecting a stately palace for her in Ulster, which they soon completed, and it was called Eamhuin Macha. After a reign of seven years, she was slain by her successor.

A. M. } 58. Reachta Righdhearg, of the line of Heber, 3566. } succeeded, and reigned twenty years. He was at length killed by Ugaine More, in revenge for the death of his foster mother, whom he had slain.

A. M. } 59. Ugaine, surnamed the Great, of the line of 3586. } Heremon, obtained the crown, and reigned thirty years. This prince very much enlarged his dominions, being monarch of all the western isles of Europe; and having a numerous issue, viz. twenty-five children, he divided Ireland into twenty-five parts, as a support for them, on the complaint of his subjects, that each of his children took upon himself to raise a body of soldiers, and in a military manner marched through the kingdom, and raised contributions upon the country for their support, and no sooner had one troop left a place, but another came and consumed all the provisions that were left. By the rules of this division, the public taxes of the island were collected for the space of three hundred years. This prince was at last slain by Badhbhchadh.

A. M. } 60. Laoghaire Lorck, his son, succeeded, and 3616. } reigned two years. He seized upon the murderer of his father, and slew him, and was at last killed in the following manner, by his own brother: Cobthaig Caolmbreag being an ambitious prince, was not contented with the provision the king, his brother, had made for him, wherefore he feigned himself dead, which coming to his brother's ears, he immediately went to see him, and throwing himself upon the body, with extreme grief, the cruel Cobthaig ran a poinard, which he had concealed, into the belly of the king, who instantly expired.

A. M. } 61. Cobthaig Caolbreag, after the cruel murder of his brother, set the crown upon his own head, and reigned thirty years. Upon his mounting the throne being apprehensive of some attempts of the deceased king's son, he caused him to be slain, and attempted the

same upon his son Maion, but to no purpose: Whereupon he was conveyed into Munster, and from thence to Gaul, where he was kindly received by the prince of that country, who was his relation, his father's grandmother being a daughter of a king of Gaul, and he was soon after promoted to the command of the king's army, in which post he behaved with the greatest courage and conduct. While he was in Gaul, Moriat, daughter to the prince of Munster, where he was concealed when he fled from the king of Ireland, hearing of his fame abroad, conceived an high esteem for him; she therefore sent a messenger to him, with a present of jewels, and to let him know that it was now time to pursue his right; Cobthaig being abhorred by his subjects.

Upon this Maion, who was also called Labhradh Loingseach, desired assistance of the king of Gaul, who immediately granted him 2200 choice troops, with which he embarked for Ireland, and landed at Wexford, and then marched with all speed to the court of Cobthaig, whom he surprized and slew, with all his retinue. From a kind of green-headed partisan, used by the Gauls in this expedition, the province of Leinster took its name.

A. M. } 62. Labhradh Loingseach, having destroyed  
3648. } Cobthaig, mounted the throne, and marrying  
the princess Moriat, reigned eighteen years, and at last  
fell by the sword of Meilge.

A. M. } 63. Meilge Malbthach, son of Cobthaig Ca-  
3666. } olbreag, seized the crown, and reigned seven  
years, till he was killed by his successor.

A. M. } 64. Mogha Chorb, of the line of Heber, suc-  
3673. } ceeded, and reigned seven years; he was slain  
by Aongus Olamh.

A. M. } 65. Aongus Olamh, grandson of Labhradh  
3680. } Loingseach, mounted the throne, and reigned  
eighteen years; he was killed by his successor.

A. M. } 66. Jaran Gleosathach, son of Meilge, suc-  
3698. } ceeded, and reigned seven years. He was  
a prince of great wisdom and judgment, as his name im-  
ports; he was slain by Fearchorb.

A. M. } 67. Fearchorb, son of Mogha Chorb, suc-  
3705. } ceeded, and reigned 11 years; he was slain  
by his successor.

A. M. } 68. Conla Croadh Cealsch, son of Jaran  
3716. } Gleofathach, succeeded, and reigned four  
years, but what death he died, is not recorded.

A. M. } 69. Oillioll Caishiacloch, his son, succeeded,  
3720. } and reigned twenty-five years. This prince  
was slain at Tarah, by his successor.

A. M. } 70. Adamhar Folthain, son of Fearaborb, sat  
3745. } next upon the throne, and reigned five years;  
how he died is not mentioned.

A. M. } 71. Eochaidh Folleathan, son of Oillioll  
3750. } Caishiacloch, succeeded and reigned eleven  
years; he was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 72. Feargus Fortamhuill, of the line of He-  
3761. } remon, succeeded, and reigned twelve years.  
He was a prince of great strength, and brave beyond  
any of his time, as his name imports; however he fell at  
last by the sword of Aongus Tuirmheach.

A. M. } 73. Aongus Tuirmheach, son of Eochaidh  
3773. } Folleathan, got possession of the throne, and  
reigned thirty years. This prince, when intoxicated with  
wine, debauched his own daughter, which produced a  
son, whose name was Fiachadh Fearmara. After this  
he could never bear to be seen publicly, so much con-  
cerned was he for violating his daughter's chastity. The  
child was conveyed away privately, and exposed in a small  
boat, with some jewels, to the mercy of the sea. It was  
not long before the child was taken up by some fisher-  
men, who took care of it. This monarch was killed at  
Tarah.

A. M. } 74. Conall Calambrach, of the line of Here-  
3803. } mon, succeeded, and reigned five years. He  
was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 75. Niadh Seadhamhuin, of the line of Heber,  
3808. } seized the throne, and reigned seven years.  
He was at length killed by Eanda Aighnach.

A. M. } 76. Eanda Aighnach, of the line of Here-  
3815. } mon, obtained the crown, and reigned twenty-  
eight years. This prince was of a bountiful dispo-  
sition, as his name imports. He was slain by his suc-  
cessor.

A. M. } 77. Criomhthan Cosgragh, of the line of He-  
3843. } remon, filled the throne, and reigned seven  
years. This prince was remarkable for his bravery, hav-  
ing fought many battles with success; however he was  
slain by one Rogerus.

A. M. } 78. Rughruidhe the Great, of the line of Ir,  
3850. } succeeded, and reigned thirty years. He died  
a natural death at Airgiod Ross.

A. M. } 79. Jonadhmar, of the line of Heber, seiz-  
3880. } ed the throne, and reigned three years. He  
was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 80. Breasal Bodhiabha, son of Rughruidhe  
3883. } the Great, succeeded, and reigned eleven years.  
He was distinguished by the name of Bodhiabha, because,  
during his reign, a terrible murrain raged among the  
black cattle through the kingdom, which almost destroy-  
ed them. This prince was killed by his successor.

A. M. } 81. Lughaidh Luaghne, son of Jonadhmar,  
3894. } seized the throne, and reigned five years. He  
was slain by Congal Claringneach,

A. M. } 82. Congal Claringneach, a son of Rughr-  
3899. } uidhe the Great, succeeded, and reigned thir-  
teen years. He was at last killed by his successor.

A. M. } 83. Duach Dalta Deaghadh, grandson of Lu-  
3912. } ghaidh Luaghne, seized the throne, and reign-  
ed ten years. This prince had a brother, who was call-  
ed Deaghadh, a person of singular courage, and who de-  
signed to seize upon the crown; but before he could put  
himself at the head of his army, the king, who was in-  
formed of his intentions, sent for him to court in a friend-  
ly manner, as if he understood nothing of his treason.  
Upon which his brother came, and was no sooner arrived.  
than he was seized, by the king's order, and his eyes put  
out, to prevent him pursuing his ambitious designs. How-  
ever he allowed him a princely support during his life,  
which occasioned this addition to his name, Dalta Deagh-  
dah, i. e. Deaghadah's foster-father. But this method to  
secure himself in the throne, could not defend him from  
the attempts of Fachtna Fathach, who slew him.

A. M. } 84. Fachtna Fathach, a son of Rughruidhe  
3922. } the Great, mounted the throne, and reigned  
eighteen years. He was a prince of great learning and  
wisdom, having established many excellent laws for the

benefit of his subjects, whom he ruled with wisdom and discretion, as Fathach imports. However he was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 85. Eochaidh Fiedhloch, of the line of Here-  
3940. } mon, succeeded, and reigned twelve years. He was called Fiedhloch from his continual sighing, which was occasioned by the loss of his three sons in the battle of Dromchriadh, who were princes of uncommon bravery. This prince gave the provinces of Ireland to his favourites, to rule over them with a kingly power, not unlike the kingdoms founded in England by the Anglo-Saxons.\* Ulster he gave to Feargus, the son of Leighe; Leinster to Rossa, the son of Feargus Fairge; the two provinces of Munster to Tighernach Teabhbeamach and Deaghadah; and Connaught he divided into three parts, which he gave to Fiodhach, the son of Feig, Eochaidh Allat and Tinne, the sons of Conrach. Soon after this the monarch having a desire to erect a palace in Connaught demanded a place from these princes, proper for the purpose, which was refused by two of them, Eochaidh Allat and Fiodhach; but Tinne made an offer of any part of his country, for the king to build upon; which compliance of his so pleased him, that he bestowed upon Tinne his daughter Meidhbh, and made him king of the whole province. The palace was immediately erected, and called Rath Cruachan; after this princess's mother.

Tinne reigned, with his queen Meidhbh, for many years over Connaught, and was at last killed at Tarah by Maceacht. She then married Oillioll More, by whom she had seven children; and he was killed by Conal Cearnach, when of a great age; but the murderer was soon overtaken, and slain in revenge for the murder of Oillioll. This princess is said to be queen of Connaught ninety-eight years, and was at last killed by Ferbuidhe, the son of Connor, king of Ulster, which put an end to the wars that had continued for many years between Ulster and Connaught, and had almost laid the two provinces waste. The occasion of these animosities is related thus: Connor, king of Ulster, having a beautiful young lady confined in a castle, on account of some pre-

\* Psalter of Cashel.



diction, whose name was Deidre, she fell in love with a young nobleman whose name was Naois, the son of Vianeach, who immediately came to a resolution to carry the lady off. He therefore with the assistance of his brothers and one hundred and fifty resolute men, attacked the guard of the castle, and having defeated them, carried the lady off, and retired with her into North-Britain, where Naois had a revenue settled on him and his followers by the king of that country. Soon after this, the British king seeing the beauty of the lady, resolved to have her by force; which Naois being informed of put himself in a posture of defence, and several skirmishes happened between his troops and the king's, when at last he was obliged to retire to an adjacent island, where he expected to be attacked. In this distress, he sent to some of the nobility of Ulster, for a supply of troops, which was not only granted, but they also prevailed on the king to give them leave to return home. The king also delivered up two of his favourites, as hostages for their security, to the friends of Naois, which were Feargus, the son of Riogh, and Cormac Conlaingios. Depending upon the honour and sincerity of the king, Feargus sent his son with a sufficient number of forces, to the relief of Naois, which brought him and his followers into Ireland. Connor having notice of their landing, dispatched Eogan, the principal commander of Fearmoighe, to conduct them to his court, but with private orders to fall upon them in the way, and kill every man of them. Eogan met with them in the plains of Eamhain, and advancing up to Naois with pretence to salute him, he thrust a spear through his body, so that he fell dead at his feet. Fiachaidh, the son of Feargus, seeing this treacherous act, immediately attacked Eogan, but was unfortunately slain, with the two sons of Vianeach, and their forces were routed. Eogan upon this seized upon Deidre, and brought her to the king's court, where she soon died with grief. The two hostages for the king's faith, were so enraged at the king's proceedings, that they raised an army, and attacking the king's, gained a complete victory, and having set the palace of Eamhain on fire, retired to the province of Connaught under the protection of queen Meidhbh, from whence they would send parties in the night to destroy the pre-

vince of Ulster. Feargus is said to have three sons at a birth, by his queen, during these commotions, who are known in history by the names of Ciar, Corc, and Conmac.

A. M. } 86. Eochaidh surnamed Aireamh, succeeded  
3952. } his brother Eochaidh Fiedhlioch, and reigned twelve years. This prince was distinguished by the name of Aireamh, because he introduced the custom of burying the dead in graves dug within the earth, the Irish before the reign of this monarch, always covering their dead, by raising great heaps of clay over their bodies. He was slain by Siodmhall at Freamhoín Teabhtha.

A. M. } 87. Eidersgeoil, of the line of Heremon, seized  
3964. } the crown, and reigned six years. He was slain by his successor.

A. M. } 88. Nuadha Neacht, of the line of Heremon,  
3970. } succeeded, and reigned half a year, being killed by Conarie.

A. M. } 89. Conaire surnamed the Great, the son of  
3970. } Eidersgeoil, seized the throne, and reigned thirty years. From this monarch descended the noble family of Earnighs in Munster, and the Dalraidhs in Scotland. He was at last slain by Aingeal Caol, son to a British king.

A. M. } 90. Laughaidh Riabdearg, grandson of Eochaidh Feidhlioch, succeeded, and reigned  
4000. } twenty years. This prince entered into an alliance with the king of Denmark, whose daughter Dearborguill he obtained for a wife. Upon some discontent he put an end to his own life, by falling upon his sword.

A. M. } 91. Connor, surnamed Abbraidhruadh, i. e. red  
4020. } eyebrows, grandson of Nuadha Neacht, succeeded, and reigned one year. The manner of his death is not mentioned.

A. M. } 92. Criomhtan Fiadhnar, the son of Lughaidh  
4021. } Riabdearg, succeeded, and reigned sixteen years. He was one of the bravest princes of his time, being always victorious over his enemies. Niadhnar in the Irish language signifies a bold hero. He was killed by a fall from his horse.

A. D. } 93. Fearaidhach Fionfachtnach, his son, succeeded, and reigned twenty years. This prince,

during the whole time of his reign, governed his subjects with equity and moderation, being a monarch of strict virtue. In the reign of this prince, Moraihn, the son of Maoin, was the chief justice of the kingdom, and by way of eminence called the first judge.\* It is said he was the first who wore the wonderful collar, called in Irish Joadh Morain, which collar, as it is said, had that surprising virtue, being put about the neck of a wicked judge, who intruded to give false judgment, it would immediately shrink, and almost stop the breath; but if he changed his resolution, and resolved sincerely to be just in his sentence, it would instantly enlarge itself, so as to hang loose about his neck. This collar was likewise made use of to prove the integrity of the witnesses, in the courts of judicature; and from hence arose the custom in the judicatories of the kingdom, for the judge, when he suspected the veracity of a witness, and proposed to terrify him to give true evidence, to charge him solemnly to speak the truth, for his life was in danger if he falsified, because the fatal collar, the Joadh Morain was about his neck, and would proceed to execution. This prince died peaceably at Leitrim.

A. D. } 94. Fiachadh Fion, of the line of Heremon seized the crown, and reigned three years. He was slain by his successor.

A. D. } 95. Fiachadh Fionoluidh, the son of Fearaidhach } 27. § Fionfachtnach, seized the throne, and reigned twenty-seven years. He was called the prince of the white cows, because, as it is said, the cows were generally white through the kingdom, during his reign. This prince was at last murdered, with several of the nobility in the following manner. Cairbre Cinncait, with two others, and the plebeians of the kingdom, entered into a conspiracy to destroy the king with the nobility and gentry, and then to seize upon the government.\* To effect which, they invited them to a great feast, which had been a long time preparing, at a place called Magh Cru in the province of Connaught. At this feast were the monarch of Ireland, the kings of Munster and Ulster, with their queens, British princesses, and a vast number of the no-

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\* Psalter of Cashel.

bility. It continued for nine days together in great splendor, when the signal was given to fall on, and the conspirators rushing in, put all to the sword, excepting the three queens, who were all big with child. They soon after escaped into Britain, where they were delivered of three princes, viz: Tuathal Teachtmair, Tiobruidhe Tiriach and Corbularan.

A. D. } 96. Cairbre Cinncait, descended from the  
54. } Firbolgs, the chief of the conspirators seized upon the government, and reigned five years. He died a natural death.

A. D. } 97. Elim, of the line of Ir, was elected mon-  
59. } arch in his room, and reigned twenty years.— This prince was very cruel, and treated his subjects with contempt; and there was also a famine in the land, which made the people come to a resolution to call the exiled princes home. They accordingly sent deputies into Britain to them, where they swore allegiance, and then set out for Ireland with three kings. Upon their landing, they were received with loud acclamations of joy, several of the nobility and gentry having met them with a considerable number of forces, with which Tuathal Teachtmair gave the usurper battle at Aichle, where he slew him, and routed his army.

A. D. } 98. Tuathal Teachtmair, the son of Fiachadh  
79. } Fionoluidh, on the death of Elim, was unanimously acknowledged monarch, and reigned thirty years. He received the name of Teachtmair, from that state of plenty and tranquillity, which he settled over the whole kingdom. This prince, as soon as he was in quiet possession of the throne, convened the general assembly of Tarah, where several wise regulations were made for the better governing of the state. It was by the authority of this assembly, that Tuathal separated a tract of land from each province, and made the country of Meath, as it appears at this day; he also erected a stately palaco in each of these proportions, viz: in that of Munster, the palace of Tlachtga, where the fire of Tlachtga was ordained to be kindled, on the 31st of October, to summon the priests and augurs to consume the sacrifices offered to their gods; and it was also ordained, that no

other fire should be kindled in the kingdom that night,\* so that the fire to be used in the country, was to derive from this fire, for which privilege the people were to pay a scraball, which amounts to three pence, every year, as an acknowledgment to the king of Munster. The second palace was in that of Connaught, where the inhabitants were assembled once a year upon the first of May, to offer sacrifices to the principal deity of the island, under the name of Beul, which was called the convocation of Visneach; and on account of this meeting, the king of Connaught had, from every lord of a manor or chieftain of lands, a horse and arms. The third was at Tailtean in the portion of Ulster, where the inhabitants of the kingdom brought their children, when of age, and treated with one another about their marriage. From this custom, the king of Ulster demanded an ounce of silver from every couple married here. The fourth was the palace of Teamhair or Tarah, which originally belonged to the province of Leinster, and where the states of the kingdom met in a parliamentary way. In this reign also were two general assemblies called, one at Eamhain in Ulster, and the other at Cruachan in Connaught, in which several wholesome laws were enacted.

Tuathal having enjoyed some peace, married his eldest daughter, whose name was Dairine, to Eochaidh Aineachan, king of Leinster. About a year after this, the king of Leinster paid a visit to Tuathal, at Tarah, where he kept his court, to demand his daughter Fithir in marriage, her sister being dead, as he pretended. Tuathal granted his request, and the princess was married to the king of Leinster accordingly, and soon after he set out with his bride for Leinster. When they arrived there, the princess found her sister Dairine alive and well, which so surprised her, that she instantly fell into fits, and expired. Dairine was so overcome with the death of her sister, that she soon after died with grief.

The monarch being informed of the tragical end of his daughters, immediately demanded aid from his subjects, to chastise the perfidiousness of the king of Leinster. They all made preparations with the utmost expedition, and when the troops were completed, Tuathal

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\* Psalter of Tara.

marched into Leinster, destroying all before him with fire and sword. The king of Leinster, not expecting so sudden a visit, was obliged to submit to the monarch's terms, which were, that the king and people of Leinster, should pay to the monarch of Ireland, for the time being, every second year, viz: of cows, hogs, wethers, copper cauldrons, ounces of silver, and mantles, of each six thousand. This tribute was known by the name of Boiroidhe Laighean, i. e. the tribute of Leinster, and was paid during the reigns of forty monarchs of Ireland. This great prince was at last slain by Mal.

A. D. } 99. Mal, of the line of Ir, succeeded, and  
109. } reigned four years. He was slain by the son of Tuathal.

A. D. } 100. Feidhlimhídh Reachtmar son of Tuathal  
113. } Teachtmar, seized the throne, and reigned nine years. This prince was distinguished by the name of Reachtmar, because he governed his people by the law of retaliation. Every sentence and decree he passed upon an offender, was conformable to this antient law, which he enjoined with the same exactness in all the public judicatories of the kingdom. He died a natural death.

A. D. } 101. Cathaoir the Great, of the line of Here-  
122. } mon, mounted the throne, and reigned three years. This prince had thirty sons.

A. D. } 102. Conn Ceadchathach, a son of Tuathal  
125. } Teachtmar, succeeded, and reigned twenty years. This prince, for his valour, was called the hero of the hundred battles, because, it is said, that he fought so many in subduing the provincialists. He was at last obliged to give way to the success of Modha Nuagat, who had defeated him in ten battles, and to part with half of his kingdom to the victor. The reason of this revolution is as follows.

The descendants of Heremon, by many victories, having got the better of the descendants of Heber Fionn in Munster, seized upon the government. Upon which Modha Nuagat, of the line of Heber, and the right heir to the crown of Munster, thought proper to retire into the province of Leinster, where he had his education and support with Daire Barrach the son of Cathaoir More.

In some time there grew so great a friendship between these two princes, that Modha Nuagat desired his assistance to recover the crown of Munster. Accordingly his friend complied with his request, and put him at the head of a stout body of troops, with which he entered the province of Munster in an hostile manner. Aongus, then king, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, in which Modha Nuagat, was victorious, and drove them out of that province.

Aongus after this defeat, fled to Conn Ceadchathach, who assisted him with fifteen thousand men, with which he entered Munster, and engaging Modha Nuagat, was again defeated, and almost his whole army destroyed.—Animated with this success, he banished the posterity of Heremon out of the province, but with this restriction, that as many as submitted peaceably to his government, might continue in the country.

The assistance that Conn Ceadchathach gave Aongus, was the occasion of the many battles fought between Modha Nuagat and this monarch, which ended in the division of the kingdom as has been related above. This division is known to this day, by the names of Leath Cuinn, i. e. Conn's half, and Leath Modha, i. e. Modha's half.

It is said that Modha Nuagat had another opportunity of enlarging his dominions; for being informed by an eminent druid, that a famine would speedily come on the land, he ordered his people to feed upon fish and fowl, of which there was great plenty, and to save all the corn they could, for which purpose he had erected store-houses. He also sent factors all over the kingdom to buy what corn they could, as far as the revenue of his province would extend. At the time foretold, there was a prodigious scarcity in all parts of the kingdom, and the inhabitants were reduced to a most miserable state; but when they were informed of the provident care of the king of Munster, they applied to him in great numbers, to support them with bread. Modha made use of this advantage, though he was resolved to relieve them, by obliging them to submit to a constant tribute to be paid to the crown of Munster; which they readily agreed to, and Modha accordingly supplied their wants.

This great prince Moadha Nuagat, who was also called Eogan More, was married to Beara, the king of Castile's daughter, by whom he had Oillioll Olum, who succeeded him. Modha was at last slain treacherously by Conn Ceadchathach.

Soon after this, the monarch himself was murdered at Tarah, by fifty ruffians in the habit of women, employed by 'Tiobraidhe 'Tireach.

A. D. } 103. Conaire, of the line of Heremon, seized  
145. } the crown, and reigned seven years. He was at last slain by Neimbidh.

A. D. } 104. Art Aonshir, the son of Conn Ceadchathach, succeeded, and reigned thirty years. The occasion of this monarch's being distinguished by the name of Aonshir, was, because he was the sole survivor of his two brothers, who were killed by their father's brothers.

In this monarch's reign, Oillioll Olum was king of Munster, who, for corruption in pronouncing judgment, banished Mac Con the kingdom, who was chief judge. Mac Con, in this state of exile, continued in Britain for some time; but being of a restless spirit, he resolved to be revenged. Accordingly he applied to Beine Briot, son to a British king, who was an experienced general, to assist him with forces to invade Ireland, assuring him, he had a considerable party in the island.

Upon this, the British prince, with a considerable army, and Mac Con, embarked for Ireland, where they landed, and then sent a herald to the monarch, to require him to resign the government, or to give them battle. This menace was a surprise to Art; however he accepted the challenge, and sent orders to the general of the militia, to attend him with his troops. The general being sufficiently bribed by Mac Con, refused to go, and also brought the officers of his side. Art, under these unhappy circumstances, raised an army, and marched to meet Mac Con, who was ready to receive them. The king's army was supported by nineteen sons of Oillioll Olum, who brought a considerable reinforcement with them. At Magh Muchruime both armies engaged with equal courage, where the king was slain by Lughaidh Laga, brother to Oillioll, who had taken part with the invaders, and seven of Oillioll's sons, with all the royal army.



A. D. } 105. Lughaidh surnamed Mac Con, of the line  
 182. } of Ith, by his victory, took possession of the government, and reigned thirty years. This monarch went into Munster, to solicit the friendship and assistance of his relations there, but being denied on account of the death of Oillioll's sons, he returned to Leinster, where he was basely murdered by Comain Eigis, by the persuasion of Cormac, the son of Art, as he was distributing his bounty to the poets and principal artists.

A. D. } 106. Feargus, surnamed Black Teeth, of the  
 212. } line of Heremon, was his successor, and reigned only one year. It was in the reign of this prince, that Cormac, the son of Art, at a feast he made at Magh Breag, had his beard set on fire, by the order of the king of Ulster, and banished the province. The three principal persons concerned in the disgrace and exile of this great man, were Feargus, king of Ireland, and his two brothers.

Cormac inflamed with resentment, applied to Thady, grandson of Oillioll Olum, who was a person of authority in the country of Elp, for protection. The generous Thady, when he had heard Cormac relate the severe treatment he had met with, promised to support him against his enemies, and restore him to his right, provided he would engage to settle a tract of land upon him, after he had triumphed over his enemies. Cormac readily agreed to the conditions, and gave him security that he should be put in possession of as much land as he could surround with his chariot upon the day of battle, when the fight was over, and he had obtained a complete victory over the three brothers. Upon which Thady made preparations to assist him; and to intimidate his enemies, he told Cormac that he knew where the invincible hero Lughaidh Laga lay concealed, and assured him, that if he could prevail upon him to appear at the head of his troops, and to present himself in the front of the battle, the day would be his own. Cormac, being informed where Lughaidh was, immediately repaired thither, where he found him in a poor cottage, lying on the ground with his face upwards. Seeing him in this posture, Cormac pricked him gently with the point of his lance, upon which Lughaidh demanded, who it was that

presumed to disturb him in so insolent a manner. Cormac answered mildly, and told him his name. Whereupon Lughaidh said, that if he had been pleased, he might have justly taken away his life, in revenge for the death of his father Art, who fell by his hand. Cormac told him, he thought he was obliged to make him a suitable recompence for that action. That I promise you, says Lughaidh. Upon which Cormac having told him his business, they set out together to head the army.

Upon their arrival at Ely, Thady marched his army to the province of Ulster, where he was met by the monarch of Ireland, and his two brothers, who were resolved to hazard a battle. The signal being given, both armies engaged with equal courage, till the valiant Lughaidh, resolving to turn the fortune of the day, rushed into the thickest of the battle, where in some time he slew the three brothers, and cut off their head. Upon this Cormac gained a complete victory, though the Ulster forces rallied seven times. Cormac was but a spectator of the action, at the request of Thady.

The battle being over, Thady was obliged to be carried in his chariot out of the field, being sorely wounded. His design was to surround as large a tract of land as he was able, according to agreement, and therefore he commanded his driver to make all possible expedition, for he proposed to encompass the royal palace of Tarah, and to drive on as far as Dublin; but the anguish of his wounds, and a large effusion of blood, had reduced him to so weak a state, that he perfectly languished; yet intent upon enlarging his territories, he called to the driver, and asked him whether he had yet surrounded the palace of Tarah. The servant told him he had not; upon which Thady in a rage, flung his spear at the driver, and killed him on the spot.

By this time Cormac came to the place, and perceiving Thady in that languishing condition, called to a surgeon, who was in his company, and with the most barbarous design, commanded him under a pretence of dressing his wounds, to convey something into them, that by degrees might affect his life. The surgeon performed his part, and Thady remained in the greatest torment, till Lughaidh Laga brought a surgeon from Munster, who

cured the prince, and discovered the baseness of Cormac. It is said that Cormac was suspicious that Thady would seize upon the crown, which made him treat Thady in such a cruel manner. Be that as it will, Thady upon this entered Leath Cuinn, and conquered large territories.

A. D. } 107. Cormac Ulsada, the son of Art, suc-  
213. } ceeded, and reigned forty years. It happened in this prince's time, that there was a person of principal note in the kingdom, who had fallen under the displeasure of Cormac, who could not be induced, by the application of his greatest favourites, to receive him into his esteem, till Aongus undertook to be his advocate, and humbly interceded for his pardon. The king was at first inflexible; but when Aongus offered to be bound for his fidelity and good behaviour for the time to come, Cormac was prevailed upon to forbear his resentment, and admit the discarded favourite into his court. This reconciliation, procured by the intercession of Aongus, was so displeasing to Ceallach, the young prince, that he seized on the restored favourite and put out his eyes. Aongus being informed of the barbarity of the young prince, so resented it, that he raised an army, and marched towards Tarah to chastise the insolence of Ceallach, Cormac having prepared to defend himself, and his son, a battle ensued, in which Aongus killed Ceallach, and struck out one of the eyes of the king. Cormac, nothing discouraged at these misfortunes, resolved to crush the rebellion in its infancy, and therefore attacking Aongus furiously, drove him out of the field, and made a terrible slaughter of his best troops.

Upon this defeat, Aongus and his brothers retired into the province of Leinster for protection, where they continued one year. From thence they removed to Ossory; but this place was no safe retreat; they therefore resolved to fly to the court of the king of Munster, who was their relation. When they arrived, Oillioll Olum, moved at the distresses of the three brothers, bestowed the territories of Deasie in the province of Munster, upon them. The brothers accepted of the lands gratefully, and divided them into three equal parts without any disputes.—From these brothers the title of king of the Deasies proceeded. But to return to the king of Ireland.

Cormac having a numerous family to maintain, and his revenue but small, he was not in a condition to support them equal to their quality; he therefore advised with his treasurer, what method he should take to deliver himself out of these difficulties. The treasurer replied, there was no way left but to raise a numerous army, and enter the province of Munster, and demand of the king the revenue that lay in arrear; sir, says he, there are two provinces in Munster; and you receive but from one of them. The king falling in with his advice, despatched a messenger to Fiachadh Muilleathan, king of Munster, Oillioll Olum being dead, to demand the tribute. The message was received with contempt, and Fiachadh returned this answer, that the demand was unprecedented, none of his predecessors, the monarchs of Ireland, ever receiving an additional tribute from the province, neither would he distress his subjects by raising new contributions which they had no right to pay. Cormac, upon the return of the messenger, was highly incensed, and therefore raised an army, with which he marched into Munster, committing great depredations. The king of Munster perceiving he should be attacked, encamped near Cormac, resolving to try the issue of a battle. But the king of Ireland, distrusting the courage of his soldiers, fled for security without striking a blow, and was to closely pursued by Fiachadh, that he was overtaken as Ossory, and obliged to capitulate. The conditions were, that the king of Ireland should repair all the losses the people of Munster sustained by this expedition, and that hostages of the principal nobility, should be sent from Tarah to Rath Naoi, for the performance of articles. Fiachadh Muilleathan, the king of Munster, was at last killed by Conla, the son of Thady, as he was bathing himself in the river Suir. The pretence for this inhuman act was, that Conla, who laboured under a violent leprosy, was told by Cormac, who pretended to divination, that he could not be cured, till he should wash his body all over in the blood of a king. Be this as it will, the dying king ordered the life of his murderer to be spared.

In this reign the men of Ulster invaded North Britain, and committed great ravages, carrying Ciarnuit,

daughter to the king of the Picts, and several others captive with them. Upon their arrival they made a present of Ciarnuit to Cormac, who was an amorous prince, and he loved her extremely;\* till at length, coming to the ears of his queen, she demanded the lady, whom Cormac delivered into her hands. Ciarnuit being in the hands of the queen, she, as a punishment, obliged her to grind with a hand-mill, a large quantity of corn. However all this severity was not able to keep the monarch from her, who found means to get her with child, and likewise to ease her of her punishment.

About this time flourished Fiothall, who was the chief justice of the kingdom. All the historians agree in giving him the character of a person of great learning, and every way accomplished for so high a trust. It is said, that on his death-bed, he desired his son Flaithrige to observe four things, viz: 1. That he should not undertake the education and maintaining a king's son. 2. That he should not impart any secrets of importance to his wife. 3. That he should not advance, nor be concerned in promoting a clown, or a person of low birth and ill manners. 4. Not to admit his sister into the government of his affairs, nor trust her with the keeping of his house, nor his money. The bad consequences attending not keeping these injunctions, it is said, by way of trial, he experienced. But to return to Cormac.

Cormac being a prince of extraordinary learning, and a philosopher, towards the latter end of his reign, he despised the idolatry of the times, and therefore, that he might be retired to contemplate on the perfections of one universal Being, he made his son, Cairbre Liffchair, regent of the kingdom, and then made his retreat a little thatched house not far from Tarah.† Here he lived till he died, which was seven years, and wrote that admirable treatise, for the use of his son, called, Advice to Kings. The manner of the death of this great prince, is as follows.

Cormac, one day addressing himself to the Divine Being, in his retirement, the pagan priests, belonging to the court, came to visit him, with a golden calf, which

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\*Psalter of Cashel. † Psalter of Cashel.

was one of the idols of those times, and falling down before it, adored it with divine worship.\* The king, however, continued his addresses to the Author of Nature, which so exasperated the priests; that Maoilogeann, their principal, demanded of Cormac, why he did not comply with the religion of his ancestors? The king answered, that it was beneath the dignity of a rational being to adore a brute, which he determined never to do, much less a log of wood fashioned by the workmans' hands, who was no more able to make a God than to create himself; and therefore he would direct his addresses to that Supreme Being, who formed the carpenter and the tree, superstitiously converted into a God. The druid or priest, upon this, retired with his idol, and in some time returned with it, magnificently dressed, and presented it to the king, and confidently demanded, whether he would not worship a deity so splendidly arrayed? Cormac replied, that it was in vain to tempt him to idolatry; for he was resolved to pay divine homage to none but the Divine Being the Creator of heaven and earth, and of a place of punishment for the wicked, and those who disobey his laws. This resolution of the king, it is supposed, cost him his life; for the same evening he expired as he was eating a salmon for his supper. He was buried at Rosnariogh, according to his desire, not being willing to mingle his dust with his heathen ancestors.

Amongst the many encomiums of this prince, by the authors who wrote his life, the following may be extracted\*. He was a wise and learned prince, perfectly understood the maxims of government, and was the most accomplished statesman of the age, as his book entitled, *Advice to Kings*, demonstrates. He also revised the ancient laws of the kingdom, and made new ones exactly calculated to the genius and temper of his people. He likewise was a prince of great munificence and hospitality, supporting the royal dignity of a king in the utmost state and grandeur. He erected a stately palace for those times, called in the Irish language *Miodchuarta*; it was four hundred and fifty feet in front, seventy-five feet in depth, and forty five in height, with a large lantern hung up in the

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\* *Psalter of Cashel.*      *Psalter of Tarah.*

state room, of curious workmanship; it also had fourteen doors, and the lodging apartments were furnished with one hundred and fifty beds, besides the bed of state where the king usually lay. He had to attend him, as his yeomen of the guard, one hundred and fifty of the bravest men in the kingdom, especially to serve him at table, when he dined in public, at which time he was served in one hundred and fifty cups of massy gold and silver; and his household troops consisted of one thousand and fifty of the bravest men in his army.

A. D. } 108. Eochaidh Gunait, of the line of Heremon,  
253. } succeeded Cormac, and reigned but one year.  
He was slain by Lughaidh Feirtre.

A. D. } 109. Cairbre Liffeachair, the son of Cormac,  
254. } succeeded, and reigned twenty-seven years.—  
He was called Liffeachair, because he was nursed near the banks of the Liffey. He was killed in the battle of Gabhra, fought between him and the militia of Ireland, who had been a long time in a state of rebellion.

A. D. } 110. Fathach Airgtheach and Fathach Cairp-  
281. } theach, the two sons of Mac Con, possessed themselves of the government, which was but short, for their reign did not continue a year. Fathach Cairptheach fell by the sword of his brother Fathach Airgtheach, and he was dethroned by the militia of the kingdom, who slew him in the battle of Ollarbha.

A. D. } 111. Fiachadh Searbthuine, the son of Cair-  
282. } bre Liffeachair, succeeded, and reigned thirty years. This prince had a son called Muirreadhach Tireach, who had acquired such knowledge in the art of war, that his father made him chief commander of his forces. Upon some provocations from the king of Munster, the young prince was sent with a strong body of troops into his kingdom, where he behaved with such courage and conduct, that he brought from thence a great number of prisoners, and an immense booty. The king, his father, who was encamped near Tailtean, hearing of the success of his son, was so transported with joy, that he could not help running into encomiums upon his courage and conduct, which so exasperated three young princes, called the three Collas, and his nephews, who had a considerable body of troops in the camp, that they entered

into a conspiracy to dethrone their uncle. Upon this they withdrew their troops from the king's camp, and having corrupted some of his officers, they prepared to attack him. The king being informed of their design, immediately drew out his forces, and attacking the enemy, was unfortunately slain.

A. D. } 112. Colla Vais, obtaining a complete victory,  
312. } seized the crown, and reigned four years. He was at last dethroned by Muirreadhach Tireach, and obliged to fly into Britain with his two brothers.

A. D. } 113. Muirreadhach Tireach, the son of Fiachadh  
316. } Searbthuine, succeeded, and reigned thirty years. In the fourth year of this prince's reign, the three Collas returned to Ireland, with a small retinue, to throw themselves upon the mercy of this monarch. When they came to Tarah, they were admitted into the king's presence, who, contrary to their expectations, received them very graciously, and promoted them to the principal posts in the army. In these posts of honour they continued some time, till the king, from a principle of friendship, told them, that as their salaries would expire with their lives, he would advise them to make a conquest of some country to be inherited by their children; and for which purpose he would give them a sufficient number of troops to enter Ulster, the inhabitants of which had used Cormac Ulsada, from whom they descended, very ill, by setting his beard on fire, and banishing him the province.

The three Collas accordingly entered Ulster with a numerous army, and were joined by 7000 of the inhabitants of the province. With this reinforcement, they marched towards the provincial army, and a most dreadful battle ensued, which was renewed every day, for seven days together, till at last Feargus Fodha, king of Ulster was slain, and his army routed. Upon this victory, the three brothers plundered the palace of Eamhain, and conquered large territories in Ulster where they settled.

The monarch was at last slain by Caolbach, the son of Cruin Badhroi.

A. D. } 114. Caolbach, of the line of Ir, succeeded,  
346. } and reigned one year. He was slain by his successor.



A. D. } 115. Eochaidh Moighmeodhin, the son of  
 347. } Muirreadhach Tireach, after slaying the preceding monarch, mounted the throne, and reigned seven years. This prince went to war with Eana Cinsalach, king of Leinster, but with no success; for it is said, the latter was victorious in fifteen battles in Leath Cuinn.— This king of Leinster having gained the famous battle of Cruachan Claonta, fought with the monarch of Ireland, his officers brought before him an eminent druid, who was called Ceadmuithach, and belonged to Eochaidh Moighmeodhin, Eana demanded why they spared the priest's life. The druid incensed at this question, boldly told the king; that whatever came of his life, he might be assured that he should never fight with success out of the field where he then stood. The king enraged at this reply, with a scornful smile, thrust his spear through the body of the priest. The druid, as he was expiring, told him, that the insulting smile which attended the thrust, should be a reproach to his family, and give them a name that should not be forgotten. From this declaration of the druid, this king of Leinster was called Cinsalach. i. e. foul or reproachful. It is not unlikely that the king of Ireland was killed in the above battle.

A. D. } 116. Criotmhan, descended from Oillioll Ol-  
 354. } um, of the line of Heber, sat next upon the throne, and reigned seventeen years. This prince in the reign of Valentinian, the Roman emperor, carried his arms into Britain, and committed great ravages, in which he was assisted by the Picts, who were then his tributaries. In some of this prince's invasions, Nectaridus, guardian of the coasts, under the Romans, was defeated and slain, as was soon after duke Bochobaudes. First Severus, and then Jovinus, sent over on this occasion, had the same fate. He from Britain sailed to Armorica, now Bretagne in France, and having plundered the country, sailed away with a great booty and hostages to Ireland.\* Upon the success of this monarch, Theodosius the elder, (so called to distinguish him from his son) the first emperor of that name, was sent into Britain, who attacking the Picts, routed and drove them out of the Roman prov-

\* Bede. Psalter of Cashel.

ince, and having recovered all their plunder, restored it to the proprietors; he repaired the ruined cities and castles, and, the enemy being retired beyond the two fyrths, he fortified the neck of land between the two seas, making a fifth province of the country they deserted, stiling it Valentia, in honour of Valentian.

This great prince, by what right is not mentioned, bestowed the kingdom of Munster, upon Connal Eachluath, who had his education from his youth with him. The donation of this province to a stranger, was thought unjust by the posterity of Fiachadh Muilleathan, who represented to Connal, that he was put into possession of that which was not his right, it belonging to Corc, the son of Luig dheach. This representation had such an effect upon Connal, that he left the affair to the determination of persons learned in the laws of the succession. It was at last agreed by the arbitrators, that Corc should take possession of the crown, and that after his decease, Connal should succeed, or his immediate heir, conformable to the will of Oillioll Olum, who ordained, that the descendants of Fiachadh Muilleathan and Cormac Cas should succeed alternately. Connal, although he had it in his power to keep possession of the throne of Munster, resigned it to Corc, who, after a short reign, died, and was succeeded by Connal according to agreement. This uncommon act of justice, made Criomthan hold Connal in the highest esteem, so that he delivered into his custody all the prisoners and hostages that he had brought from Britain and Gaul, being persuaded he could rely upon the integrity of a prince, who delivered up the possession of a crown which he was able to defend, for no other reason, but his having no right to it.

Criomthan, notwithstanding his fine accomplishments, could not secure himself from the base attempts of his sister Mung Fionn, who poisoned him with a prospect to obtain the crown for her son Brian, whom she had by Eochaidh Moighmeodhin. However, the better to oblige the king to take the fatal dose, she drank of it herself, which also dispatched her at Inis Dornglass. The king died near Limerick.

A. D. } 117. Niall, distinguished by the name of the  
371. } nine hostages, and son of Eochaidh Moigh-

meodhin, succeeded, and reigned twenty-seven years.— His mother was a British princess. This prince, as well as his predecessor, transported a numerous army into Britain, and there committed great devastations in the Roman province. He also invaded Armorica in Gaul, and having plundered the inhabitants, returned with rich spoils and a valuable booty. But the most considerable part of the prey consisted of 200 children descended from the most noble blood in the province, which he brought home with him; and among the rest, were St. Patrick, a youth about sixteen, and his two sisters Lupida and Darerca.

This prince had several skirmishes with Eochaidh, the son of Eana Cinsalach, king of Leinster, who pretended to the crown of Ireland, which at last ended in Eochaidh's banishment. The first offence was, that contrary to the order of Niall, he kept his residence at Tarah, as monarch of the island, for nine days, till he was told by a principal druid, that he had violated the ancient customs of Tarah, which enjoined that no person should presume to keep his court in that royal palace before he was admitted into the order of knighthood. Upon this Eochaidh withdrew, and in his way to his own province he entered the house of an eminent druid who was in high esteem with Niall. While he continued here, the druid's son had the imprudence to speak slightly of him, which so enraged Eochaidh, that he killed him on the spot. Upon this the druid applies to Niall for satisfaction, who immediately entered the province of Leinster, with fire and sword, and miserably distressed the inhabitants; who were at last obliged to deliver the prince into the hands of his enemy, and the king of Ireland withdrew his army.— Eochaidh being given into the hands of the druid; he was resolved to put him to death, and therefore ordered the prince to be chained to a stone, where he remained some time, till his executioners appearing, he broke the chain, and twisting a sword out of one of their hands, he fell upon them with such fury, that having killed some of them, the rest fled, and he made his escape into Britain.

Niall having subdued his enemies at home, made great preparations to invade Armorica, and accordingly sent to the general of the Scots or Irish forces, who was

in North Britain to assist the Picts in their ravages of the Britons, to follow him with the choicest of his troops. The monarch having got every thing in readiness, sailed to Armorica, and having landed his troops, committed great ravages near the river Loire. Here it was that the general of the Irish in Britain, with his forces joined the king, amongst which troops Eochaidh had entered himself a volunteer, in order to be revenged of Niall.—The king of Ireland, hearing of his arrival, would by no means admit him into his presence; however Eochaidh found an opportunity to execute his designs; for one day perceiving the king sitting upon the bank of the Loire, he shot him with an arrow from an opposite grove, and he instantly died. Upon this the troops returned home.

A. D. } 118. Dathy, grandson of Moighmeodhin, suc-  
398. } ceeded and reigned twenty-three years. He was a prince of surprising nimbleness and agility, as his name imports; for it is said, that he could handle his weapons dextrously, and put on his armour before he was at man's estate. This prince carried his arms into Britain, as his predecessor had done, and committed great ravages. The Scots, with the assistance of the Picts, having subdued the fortresses between the two fyrths, proceeded as far as Severus' wall, where, without much difficulty, they entered the Roman province. The Romans having been called out of Britain, the Britons were reduced to great extremities by the inroads of their enemies. The Romans could not assist them, being themselves invaded by the Goths under Alaric, who having sacked the city of Rome; had got possession of Gaul; and the Suevi, Vandals, Catti, and Alans were become masters of Spain. The emperor, however, to prevent the importunities of the Britons for assistance, publicly and freely acquitted them of the Roman jurisdiction. This liberty enhanced their misery. Ætius, in the reign of Valentinian III. having obtained signal victories over the Visigoths and Burgundians, in compassion to the Britons, who were still harassed by the Picts and Scots, sent them a legion, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna, or as others say, of Maximilian, who forced the Scots and Picts beyond Severus' wall. Ætius, before his departure

advised the Britons to inure themselves to arms, and to repair Severus' wall, promising them the help of his soldiers and his own direction in the work. The Britons falling in with his advice, soon completed the wall, and the Romans took their last farewell of Britain, in the year four hundred and eighteen, according to Dr. Stillingfleet.

In this monarch's reign, Eogan, the supposed son of Gabhran, general of the Scots in Britain, invaded Leinster, when Randubh, the son of Eochaidh, governed that province, and committed great ravages, under pretence of his title to the crown of Leinster. The mother of Randubh, seeing the misery the inhabitants were reduced to, went to Eogan's camp, where being introduced to him, she privately told him, that she was his own mother; and that she bore him and Randubh at a birth in Britain, when Eochaidh was in exile; and that his supposed mother was then in labour, and brought forth a daughter, which being a great trouble to her, having no son, she immediately ordered him to be delivered to her, and he was accordingly bred up as Gabhran's son. This account prevailed so much with Eogan, that he ceased hostilities, till the arrival of his supposed mother from Britain. When she came, she confirmed all that the old princess had said, and Eogan retired with his forces to ravage the Britons.

Dathy hating a life of inaction, after having harassed the Britons, landed his troops in Gaul, where he committed great ravages, and was at last killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps. His army brought his body with them into Ireland.

### BOOK III.

*The conversion of the Irish to Christianity; and of the founding the kingdom of Scotland by the Irish, with several other remarkable transactions during the reigns of thirteen monarchs.*

A. D. }

421, § 119. **L**AGGAIRE, the son of Niall, upon the untimely death of Dathy, was declared monarch of Ireland, and reigned thirty years.

In this prince's reign, the Picts and Northern Irish now began their hostilities against the Britons, with greater confidence than ever; and, that they might make irruptions at their pleasure, they made large breaches in several parts of the wall, lately repaired, which was weakly defended. \*In this extremity, the Britons once more applied to the Romans, and wrote a very moving letter to Ætius then in Gaul: "We know not (say they) what, course to steer. The barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us back to the barbarians. Thus, of two kinds of death, always in our view, one or other must be chosen, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or destroyed by the sword." Ætius was making preparations against Attila, who had entered Gaul with eighty-thousand men, and, therefore, answered the Britons, that he could not comply with their petition. Upon this they were thunder-struck, and called together a general council, which agreed that the only means, to prevent their ruin, was to choose a monarch, fancying that being united under one head, their divisions would cease, and they should be more enabled to resist their enemies; but such were the dissensions of their petty kings, that they endeavoured to dispatch the monarch elect, in order to succeed him. The names of these monarchs are unknown

\* Bede, Rapin.

till Vortigern, king of the Danmonii, i. e. Devon and Cornwall, chosen in the year four hundred and forty-five, who, it is said, even assassinated his predecessor. It was he that sent ambassadors to the Saxons for assistance against the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnshire.

Upon the arrival of the British ambassadors, Witigesil, the Saxon general, having summoned an assembly on this occasion, the chief of the embassy addressed them as follows: "Illustrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, oppressed by the continual irruptions of the Picts and Scots, send us to implore your assistance. We have heard of your renown; and we are sensible that your arms are invincible; and, therefore, we are come to intreat your protection. Britain, for many years, was a considerable part of the Roman empire; but being abandoned by our masters, we know no nation better able than yourselves to assist us. If you grant our request, we offer, in return, all that our country, which is both rich and fertile, can afford. We shall submit to your own terms, provided you enable us to drive the enemy out of the country." Witigesil gave them this short though pleasing answer, "Be assured the Saxons will stand by you in your extremity;" and accordingly nine thousand men were granted them, on condition the Saxons should be possessed of the isle of Thanet, and their troops allowed a certain pay. It was these Saxons that founded the English monarchy, and at last drove the Britons into Wales, where they remain a distinct nation to this day. This shows of what dangerous consequence it is to invite foreigners into a kingdom. But to return to Ireland.

A. D. } In the twelfth year of Laogaire, Palladius was  
432. } sent into Ireland to preach the gospel by pope Celestinus I. who, having made some progress in the conversion of the Irish, they being somewhat prepared by the preaching of some converted Irish, who had been at Rome, he erected three churches in Leinster, which were called Cilfinne, Teachna Romhanach and Domhnach Arda. Palladius and several of his assistants, being at last seized by Nathi, the son of Garchon, a violent bigot for the pagan religion, and who had the principal

command of the province, obliged him to quit the work he had undertaken, to save his life, and to retire into Britain, where he died in the first year of his mission.

A. D. } The next year, St. Patrick, a Briton by birth,  
433. } and nephew to St. Martin, bishop of Tours, arrived in Ulster, by commission from Celestinus I. to complete the conversion of the Irish. He entered upon his ministry with such piety and courage, that he soon converted the nobility of Ulster, and established the metropolitan see at Ardmagh, of which he was the first bishop. He also converted the monarch of Ireland.

Aongus, king of Munster, hearing that St. Patrick was preaching in his province, went in person to invite him to his palace at Cashel, where St. Patrick came, and having instructed Aongus in the Christian faith, he baptized him. It is said that whilst Aongus stood at the font, St. Patrick striking his episcopal staff on the ground, the bottom of which had a spike of iron, struck it through the foot of the king; but notwithstanding the violence of the pain Aongus would not stir till the solemnity of the office was over. The same is related of Eogan, the son of Niall, the king of Ulster. St. Patrick also erected an archiepiscopal see at Cashel, which was called the archbishop of Leath Mochua.

Upon this extraordinary spreading of the gospel in Ireland, St. Patrick is said to have consecrated three hundred and sixty-five bishops, and ordained three thousand presbyters. From this time this island became so famous for piety and learning, that it was called the Island of Saints, and people from all parts of Europe flocked hither as to the great mart of learning.\*

In this prince's reign, a convocation was assembled to examine the public records of the kingdom, and a committee of nine were chosen for that purpose, viz: Lao-guire, monarch of Ireland, Daire, king of Ulster, Corc, king of Munster, St. Patrick, Benigne, Cairnach, bishops, Dubtach, Feargus and Rosa, antiquarians.† By this learned committee were the antient records of the kingdom examined and purged, and then committed to the care of the bishops, who had them transcribed and laid up in their principal churches for the benefit of posterity.

\* Bede. Camden. † Psalter of Cashel.



There are many of these manuscripts preserved to the present times, and many copies of them found in the custody of the curious; such are the book of Ardmagh, the Psalter of Cashel, the book of Glandelock, the book called in the Irish language, *Leabhar na Huaidhchongabhala*, the Treatise of Cluainmacnaois, the book of Fiontan Cluana Haighneach, the yellow book of Moling, the black book of Molaiga, and several others. Also about this time, mints were erected at Ardmagh and Cashel, and money coined for the service of the state.

Laogaire was disturbed in his government by Criomthan, the son of Eana Cinsalach, who, with the assistance of the provincial troops, attacking the king's forces routed them, and took Laogaire prisoner. Criomthan having the king in his power, would not give him his liberty, unless he would swear, that he would never attempt to get possession of the tribute of Leinster. This the monarch agreed to; but he was no sooner out of his enemy's power, than he violated his oath; wherefore, says the historians, the vengeance of Heaven fell upon him, for he was killed by a thunder bolt at Greallach Dabhuill, near the Liffey, as an example to all succeeding kings, who trifle with treaties and oaths, and imagine they have a dispensing power, when reasons of state seem to require it.

A. D. } 120. Oillioll Molt, the son of Dathy, succeeded.  
451. } ed, and reigned twenty years. This prince fought the memorable battle of Tuama Aichir with the people of Leinster, which concluded with incredible slaughter on both sides. He was at last attacked by Lughaidh, son of Laogaire, with a numerous army, in which conflict he was slain. In this reign died Amalgaidh, king of Connaught, who had governed that province twenty years. Likewise Muirreadhach Mundearg, king of Ulster, after a reign of twelve years.

A. D. } 121. Lughaidh the son of Laogaire, succeeded.  
471. } ed, and reigned twenty years. In the reign of this prince, the following battles were fought between several princes of the island, viz: the battle of Cill Osnach, in which Aongus, the king of Munster, with his queen, lost their lives, after a reign of thirty-six years, by the forces of Leinster, In the battle of Graine, Fra-

och, king of Leinster, was slain by Eochaidh, the son of Cairbre. The battle of Seaghliss, where Duach Teangmhadh, king of Connaught was slain.

This prince was killed by a thunder-bolt, as a punishment from Heaven, for opposing the preaching of St. Patrick.

A. D. } 122. Mortough, great grandson to Niall, succeeded and reigned twenty-four years. In the second year of his reign, died St. Patrick, the apostle of the Irish, having governed the church of Ireland sixty years.

A. D. } It was also in the thirteenth year of this prince, 503. } according to Usher, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, writers of great note, that Feargus the Great, brother to this monarch with a numerous army invaded North-Britain, and there founded the famous kingdom of Scotland. And the firmer to fix the crown upon his head, Feargus sent to his brother for the famous stone, on which the kings of Ireland usually were inaugurated, that he might receive the crown also upon it. His request was granted, and the stone accordingly sent away to Scotland, where it remained at Scone till Edward I. king of England, in the year 1296, caused it to be removed to Westminster, where it remains to this day enclosed in a wooden chair, and in which the kings of England receive the crown. On this stone the following distich was engraven:

*Ni fallit fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum  
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenenter ibidem.*

Or fate's deceiv'd, and Heaven decrees in vain;  
Or, where they find this stone, the Scots shall reign.

The people of Scotland had all along placed a sort of fatality in this stone, fancying, that, whilst it remained in the country, their state would be unshaken, but that the moment it should be removed it would occasion great revolutions. Edward had no other view, in carrying it away, than to create in the Scots a belief, that the time of the dissolution of their monarchy was come, and to lessen the hopes of recovering their liberty; but at that time they received a greater loss; for the burning of their re-

cord, by Edward's order, was, to them and their posterity an irretrievable misfortune. But to return to the monarch of Ireland.

Mortough met with great opposition in his government, towards the latter end of his reign; for he fought five battles in one year with various success. Soon after this he died at the house of Cheitthigh.

I shall here add a few particulars concerning some ecclesiasticks, eminent for their piety and learning, which flourished in the last century in Ireland.

St. Albe, or Ailbe, born in Ely O Carol, was converted in his minority, before the arrival of Palladius, and went to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop by the Pope. There is yet remaining of his works, a rule for monks, in manuscript. He laboured much in the conversion of his countrymen, and died in 527.

Dubtach a convert of St. Patrick, and a famous poet and antiquarian, wrote sacred poems, for says Jocelin, being baptized and confirmed in the faith, he turned his poetry, which in the flower and prime of his studies he employed in praise of false gods, to a much better use, changing his mind and style, he wrote more elegant poems, in praise of the Almighty Creator, and his holy preachers.

Fiach, educated under Dubtach, being appointed bishop of Sletty in the Queen's county, he was so remarkable for his strictness of life, that he converted and baptized the whole nation of Cinsalach, which is the greater and better part of Leinster.

Benige was a scholar of St. Patrick, and his successor in the see of Ardmagh. He was remarkable for his holiness of life, and for his having wrote a book, part Irish and part Latin, of the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick, to which Jocelin owns himself beholden. There is extant an Irish poem of the Dublinians conversion, ascribed to him.

Sedulius, a famous poet, orator, and divine, lived about 490. He travelled into France, Italy, and Asia, and returning by the borders of Achaia, in the city of Rome, great notice was taken of him for his singular learning. He wrote several books in prose and verse, viz. fourteen books on St Paul's Epistles, a paschal song in metre, in four books, and many others.

**Frideline**, son of an Irish king, lived in 495. He built many monasteries in France and Germany where he took much pains in propagating christianity. He died in a monastery of his own erection at Secking or Secane, an isle in the Rhine, and was there buried.

**St. Catald** was born in Munster, educated at Lismore, and afterwards bishop of Ratheny. Having for some years honorably discharged his episcopal function, he went a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, from thence he travelled into Italy, where he became bishop of Tarentum. He wrote a book of prophecies.

**Lienan**, bishop of Damleag, or Duleek, was born in Munster, had his education some time in France, under **St. Martin**, bishop of Tours, and died in 489. He wrote the life of **St. Patrick**.

A. D. } 123. **Tuathal Maolgarbh**, the son of **Cormac**

515. } **Caoch** grandson of **Niall**, upon the death of **Mortough** succeeded to the throne of Ireland and reigned thirteen years.

In this reign the following battles were fought by the princes of the country, viz. the battle of **Tortan** was fought by the people of **Leinster**, in which **Earca**, the son of **Oillioll Molt** was slain; the battle of **Sligo**, by **Feargus** and **Daniel**, the two sons of **Murtough**, in which **Eogan Beal** king of **Connaught**, was slain, after a reign of thirty-five years.

Upon the death of **Eogan Beal**, **Guaire**, the son of **Colman**, took upon him the government, although the deceased prince left children behind him. **Ceallach**, the eldest, had entered himself into a religious order, under the famous **Ciaran**; but nevertheless he was so pressed upon by his friends to assume his rights to the provincial crown, that he left his cell and appeared at the head of a good body of forces. **Ciaran** missing the young prince, and enquiring for him, was soon informed of his intentions, which very much exasperated the saint. **Ceallach** being informed of **Ciaran's** resentment, he hastened to the convent begged the abbot's pardon, and promised obedience for the future. **Ciaran** gave him his blessing, and the young prince returned to his devotion, where in process of time he was promoted to a bishopric. However, **Ceallach** endeavored to secure an interest for his

younger brother, which being discovered to Guaire, he prevailed with three of the bishop's servants to dispatch him, which they did the first opportunity. This violent death of Ceallach, say the historians, was owing to his attempting a secular life, which was foretold by Ciaran.

Tuathal Maolgarbh was at last assassinated by Maolmor, the son of Niathire, at a place called Grealladh Ely, at the desire of his successor.

A. D. } 124. Diarmuidh, the son of Feargus Ceirbh-  
528. } eoil the grandson of Niall, ascended the throne, and reigned twenty-two years. This prince was disturbed in his government by Feargus and Daniel, the two sons of Murtough, who defeated him in the battle of Cuildreimne, with a great slaughter of his troops. He was attended with the same ill fortune, when he fought the battle of Cuil Vinsion at Teabhtha, being driven out of the field by Hugh, king of Teabhtha, where the greatest part of his army was cut off.

In the seventh year of Diarmuidh's reign, Guaire, king of Connaught, had, for some reasons, taken a cow from a religious woman, called Sionach Cro; who applying to the monarch for satisfaction for the injury he had done her, Diarmudh immediately marched his army towards Connaught, and encamped on the side of the Shannon. Guaire likewise encamped on the other side. In this state of inaction both armies lay for some time. In the interim Guaire, doubting of success sent Cumin, his favorite, to the monarch, to desire he would not pass the river for twenty-four hours. Diarmudh readily agreed to this; and in the mean time Cumin endeavored to persuade Guaire to give the king satisfaction, and not hazard a battle, his forces being vastly inferior to Diarmuidh's. These reasons did not prevail on the king of Connought, who was resolved to give battle; and, therefore, prepared to face the enemy. The two armies being drawn out in order of battle, the king of Ireland's troops plunged into the Shannon, and gaining the opposite side, although bravely defended by the provincial forces, made a great slaughter of them, and put them to a general rout.

After this defeat, Guaire retreated to the cell of a religious woman in an unfrequented wood, till he could make his peace with the king of Ireland. In this wood

he met with his scattered forces, who unanimously agreed to submit to Diarmuidh. Upon this, Guaire sent a messenger with his submission to the king, which was accepted. Guaire being introduced to the king, he fell on his knees and delivered his sword into the monarch's hand, who obliged him to hold the point of it between his teeth, whilst he made trial of that charity and bounty he was so much famed for, and whether it proceeded from a principle of religion and goodness, or were the effect of popularity and ostentation. Accordingly the king ordered an eminent bard, to apply to him for charity, which being done, Guaire refused his request, being sensible that he was supported by the king. Upon this, a man, grievously afflicted with a leprosy, (for it was in the camp) and a very miserable object, solicited his charity and begged alms for God's sake. Guaire, convinced of his necessities, and being incapable of relieving him any other way, gave him the silver bodkin that stuck in his vest. The poor man retired with his alms, which was soon taken from him by the king's order. Upon this, he returned to Guaire, and acquainting him of his misfortune, again begged his charity. The prince affected with this relation, gave him his girdle, which was of considerable value; and this was likewise taken from the poor man; which Guaire being informed of, burst out into a flood of tears, because he had nothing more to give. The king observing him in this affliction, demanded the occasion of it, and asked him whether his sorrow proceeded from the state of his affairs. Guaire replied, that his ill fortune was the least subject of his grief, which wholly arose from reflecting upon the distress of the miserable leper, and the incapacity of his condition to afford him relief. The king upon this, desired him to rise from the ground, being convinced of the humanity of his nature, and extraordinary virtue, and generously received him into his friendship, promising never to require any subjection from him; being sensible there was an Almighty Sovereign, to whom he himself owed homage, and whose vicegerent he was in the administration of his government.

The two kings being reconciled, entered into a strict league, and bound themselves in the most solemn man-

ner not to violate their engagements. Upon this friendship, the king of Ireland invited Guaire to go to the great fair of 'Fáiltean, which was the public mart of the kingdom: when they were there, Diarmuidh gave secret orders through the whole fair, that no one should, upon any account, apply to Guaire for his charity, or receive a gratuity from his hands, being sensible of the tenderness of his nature, and that his bounty admitted no limits. Three days after their arrival, Guaire perceiving no miserable object to implore his relief, and being informed of the king's orders, desired the king to let him have a good bishop, that he might confess and receive absolution. The king surprised, asked him what he intended by this request? He answered, that he was certain that his death was approaching, because he was unable to live without exercising his charity, which his royal mandate had entirely put it out of his power to do. Diarmuidh immediately revoked his order, and by that means opened a way for the bounty of his royal companion, who, besides the large sums he expended in relieving the poor, with great generosity encouraged the men of learning in all professions, and by his benefactions procured the applause of the most eminent poets and antiquarians of the kingdom.

Upon Guaire's restoration to the throne of Connaught, he made great preparations to invade Munster, in hopes of recovering the territories that had been taken from his ancestors, by Lughaidh Mean, king of Munster. As soon as his troops were ready, he entered Munster, and committed great ravages. Upon this Dioma, king of Munster, marched with his forces, to drive Guaire into his own province; and the two armies meeting in the middle of the county of Limerick, a terrible battle ensued, in which the king of Connaught was defeated, and most of his forces cut to pieces.

In Diarmuidh's reign the kingdom was visited with a dreadful plague, which destroyed vast numbers of people, particularly the religious. About this time died Eochaidh, king of Ulster, after a reign of twenty two years; and likewise Colman More, who had governed the province of Leinster thirty years.

Diarmuidh was at last slain by Hugh Dubh Mac Swy-

ny, at a place called Rath Beag, and was buried at Cuin-  
nirry.

A. D. } 125. Feargus and Daniel, the two sons of  
550 } Murtough, descended from Niall, succeeded  
Diarmuidh, and reigned but one year. These princes  
were obliged to engage with the inhabitants of Leinster  
in the battle of Gabhra Liffey, in which action the forces  
of Leinster were entirely routed. Soon after this victory,  
they died, but after what manner is not recorded.

A. D. } 126. Eochaidh, the son of Daniel, and his un-  
551 } cle Baodhan, the son of Murtough, succeeded,

and reigned three years. In the reign of these princes,  
Cairbre Crom, king of Munster, fought the battle of  
Feimhin against Colman Beag, the son of Diarmuidh,  
and defeated him, with the slaughter of the greatest  
part of his forces. Soon after this victory, the king of  
Munster died. As did also, remarkable for his great  
age, Briannun Biorra, aged one hundred and eighty  
years. Some time after this, Fiachadh, the son of  
Baodhan, engaged in the bloody battles of Folla and  
Forthola against the inhabitants of Ely and Osgory, and  
obtained a complete victory. These princes were at  
last slain in a battle with Crouan, king of Conachta  
Glinne Geimhin.

A. D. } 127. Aínmereach, the son of Seadhna, descended  
554. } from Niall, succeeded, and reigned three years.  
This prince was at last slain by Feargus Mac Neill, at  
Carrig Leimne an Eich.

A. D. } 128. Baodhan, the son of Nincadhadh, de-  
557. } scended from Niall, sat next upon the throne,  
and reigned but one year. About this time the battle  
of Bagha was fought, in which Hugh, the king of Con-  
naught, was slain. Baodhan was at last treacherously  
slain, by the two Cumins, at the place where his pre-  
decessor was slain.

A. D. } 129. Aodh or Hugh, the son of Aínmereach,  
558. } succeeded, and reigned twenty-seven years.—  
This prince fought the noted battle of Beallach Dathi,  
where he obtained a complete victory, killing Colman  
Beag on the spot, with five thousand of his forces.

This monarch summoned the princes, nobility and  
clergy of the kingdom, to meet in a parliamentary way



at Dromceat. He had three principal reasons for convening this assembly. First, The insolence of the poets, who had become so numerous by the indulgence of former kings, that a third part of the whole kingdom passed under the notion of poets, and professed themselves regular members of that society; for it was a plausible cover to idleness and ease, it being ordained by law, that they should be quartered on the inhabitants from November till May. But what incensed the king the more, was their demanding the golden bodkin that fastened the royal robe under his neck. This was not the first time that their conduct displeased the government, but they were always protected by the kings of Ulster.\* Second, To settle a constant tribute on the famous tribe of Dailriads in Scotland, who owed homage to the crown of Ireland, and paid an acknowledgment, called Eric, i. e. ransom or kindred money. It seems the Scots of Britain had of late refused to pay this tax, which Hugh resolved, for the future, to oblige them to pay. Third, To deprive Scanlan More, the son of Cionfhagladh, of the command of Ossory, who had refused to pay the revenue arising from that country into the public exchequer, and converting it to his own use. The king designed to recommend Jollan, the son of Scanlan, to the assembly, who was every way\*qualified to govern the people of Ossory.

To this assembly, came St. Collum Kille from the land of the Picts, where he had been to convert that nation to Christianity, which he happily effected. He was attended by twenty bishops, forty priests, fifty deacons, and thirty students in divinity, who were allowed a place in this assembly, on account of their abbot's extraordinary worth. When the three important questions came to be debated, St. Collum Kille, by the force of his reasons, obliged the assembly to release Scanlan, who was in confinement; to lay aside all preparations to invade Scotland; to oblige that famous colony to pay Eric; and that the college of poets should be reformed, but not suppressed; and that the greatest part of them should be degraded for their insolence; and for the rest, that every king, prince,

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\* Psalter of Cashel.

or lord of a cantred, should maintain one of them, to preserve the exploits of his family. From this time, the poets were allowed an honourable support, and invested with extraordinary privileges. It is said, that this assembly sat for thirteen months, where several excellent laws were enacted for the better government of the state.—St. Collum, upon the breaking up of the assembly, returned to his monastery in the island of Hy, on the coast of Scotland.

In this monarch's reign, his son Conall, at the head of the royal army, was defeated by Colman Rimhidh, in the battle of Sleamhna. Soon after this the battle of Cuill **Conall was fought by Fiachadh, the son of Baodhan, in which action Fiachadh, the son of Diomain, was routed, and the greatest part of his army put to the sword. After this defeat, Conall, the son of Suibhne, obtained by his conduct and courage, three complete victories in one day, over three great generals of the name of Hugh, viz: Hugh Slaine, Hugh Buidhe, king of O Maine, and Hugh Romn, king of O Faily. These battles were fought at Bruighin da Choga.**

It was also in this monarch's reign, that the Saxons, who were invited into Britain, by the natives, to assist them against the inroads of the Picts and Scots, after unheard-of cruelties, made an entire conquest of South-Britain, which they called England.\* These cruel idolaters, says a celebrated historian, as well out of duty as wantonness, trampled upon every thing relating to christianity, and treated even the christians themselves with the utmost barbarity. "From the east and west, says Gildas, nothing was to be seen but churches burnt and destroyed to their very foundations. The inhabitants were cut off by the sword, and buried under the ruins of their own houses; and the altars were daily profaned by the blood of the Britons slain thereon." Bede, who was himself a Saxon, tells us, that "by the Saxons a fire was lighted up, which executed the just vengeance of God against the wicked Britons, as he had formerly burnt Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. Britain was so ravaged by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of the Almighty,

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\* Raptin.

that there seemed to be a continued flame from sea to sea, which consumed the cities, and covered the surface of the whole island. Public and private buildings fell in one common ruin; the priests were murdered on the very altars; and the bishop and his flock perished without any distinction, no one daring to give their scattered corpse an honourable burial.

The Britons, who escaped the fury of those merciless conquerors, for want of provisions in the woods and mountains to which they retreated, were forced, at last, to submit to the Saxons, being glad to purchase their lives with the loss of their liberty. Some retired into Ireland and other foreign parts; and they who out of love to their native country, remained in the island, and dreading slavery, could not think of surrendering themselves up to the Saxons, dragged on a miserable life, exposed unto inexpressible wants, and perplexed with continual fears. But to return to the affairs of Ireland.

Hugh having some difference with the king of Leinster, raised a great army, and attacking the provincial forces, he was unfortunately slain, at Beallach Dunbolg, and his army defeated.

A. D. } 130. Hugh Slaine, the son of Dairmuidh, and  
585. } Colman Riamidh, the son of Murtough, both descended from Niall, succeeded and reigned six years. In this reign the people of Leinster took up arms against Brandubh, their king, and in the battle of Camcluain, they gained a considerable victory over the king's troops, in which action Brandubh lost his life. These princes were at last slain, Hugh by Conall Gubthin, and Colman by Lochan Diolmhain.

A. D. } 131. Aodh Vairiodhnach, the son of Daniel,  
591. } succeeded, and reigned twenty-seven years.— This prince met with frequent disturbances from Aongus, the son of Colman, who was at length entirely defeated in the battle of Odhbha, in which bloody action Conall Laoghbreagh, the son of Hugh Slaine, lost his life. Also in this reign, in the year 579, Gregory the great, bishop of Rome, sent forty Benedictine monks, with Austin at their head, in the quality of abbot, into England, to preach the gospel to the English.\* Austin landed in the isle of

\* Bede. Rapin.

Thanet in Kent, and having converted Ethelbert, king of Kent, he fixed the metropolitan see at Canterbury. But to return to Ireland.

Aodh, the monarch of Ireland, was killed in the battle of Dafearta.

I shall conclude this book, with an account of several persons eminent for their piety and learning in the Irish church, in the sixth century.

St. Collum Kille, or Columba, of a noble Irish family, founded a monastery in Ireland, called Dearnagh, or the field of oaks, because situated in a forest. In the year 565 he went into Britain, to preach the gospel to the Picts, where, by his doctrine joined to his good example, he converted the whole nation, with their king Brydins, who gave him the little island of Jona or Hy, since named Cochil, where he founded a very famous monastery. The Scotch churches both in Ireland and Great Britain, were for many years, supplied by these two monasteries, with bishops and priests. It is remarkable that pursuant to Collum's institution, the abbot of Jona retained a jurisdiction, not only over the several monasteries which sprung from that, but also over the monks that went off to be priests or bishops. Bede gives this reason for it, that Collum, the founder, was no more than a priest; but it might be added, that the monks, who had vowed obedience to the abbot of Jona, though advanced to the episcopal dignity, believed their former vow indispensably obliging. St. Collum died in the year 597, aged seventy-seven, and was buried in the abbey of Jona.

St. Finan, or Finian, bishop of Clonard, writ some prælections, with other things. In his time the abbey of Clonard, was a college, to which persons from most parts of Europe resorted.

Ciaran, abbot and bishop of Seigar-Ciaran, wrote a rule for monks; and is said to have wrote some prophecies.

St. Jarlath, the first bishop of Tuam, lived about 540, and was remarkable for his holiness of life. There are certain prophecies of his successors, bishops of Tuam, extant under his name.

St. Brendan, of Clonfert, in the county of Galway, was famous for his extraordinary learning and piety, being

principal of the abbey of St. Mary of Port Pure, in that town, which was then a college, and much resorted.

St. Ruaden founded the abbey of Lurcho in Munster and was the first abbot. He was educated under St. Finian, bishop of Clonard. He writ a book against king Diarmuidh, another of the strange nature of springs in Ireland, and of a wonderful tree.

St. Congal, or Congal, i. e. fair pledge, born in Ulster, and educated under St. Fintan, at Clonenach, in the queen's-county, afterwards at Clonmacnoise, under bishop Lugid, from whom he received holy orders. St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachias, says, that "St. Congal built the great monastery of Bangor in the Ardes of Ulster, near the eastern sea, and a vast multitude of monks came thither, insomuch that one place could not contain them; so he built cells and monasteries, not only in the Ardes, but throughout Ireland, in which were three thousand monks under the care and government of the holy father Congal." This monastery was a college of principal note. Congal wrote monastical institutes yet extant, also the acts of St. Collum, and some epistles. He died in his abbey of Bangor, aged eighty-five.

St. Canic or Kynnic, but commonly called St. Kenney, son of Laidec, a celebrated poet, was abbot of Aghavo, in Upper Ossory. He wrote the life of St. Collum, and hymns in his praise. It is said he wrote a volume of the four Evangelists, called by the ancients, Glass Kynick. He died the 11th October, 600, aged seventy-two.

St. Colman bishop of Cloyne, was remarkable for his extraordinary piety. He wrote the life of St. Senan.

St. Bridget, a virgin, born at Fochard in the county of Louth, according to the historians, was one of the greatest ornaments of Ireland. It is said, that her love to virginity was so great, that a young man asking her for a wife, she prayed to God to make her so deformed, that none should ever more regard her. Her prayer was heard, and a distemper that fell in her eye, and quite put it out, delivered her from the importunity of the youth, that would have had her in marriage; which obliged her father to consent that she should be a nun. Three other maids of that country joined with her in the resolution of giving themselves up to God in the same manner; and having

taken leave of their parents, they went away to bishop Mel, disciple to St. Patrick, in the county of Meath, who veiled, and gave them a particular habit, and received their profession of perpetual virginity. Bridget having formed a religious community of her companions, soon found the same encreased by a considerable number of holy virgins, who desired to live under her direction.—This obliged her to erect several monasteries in sundry parts of Ireland. The chiefest of them, and where she generally resided, was at Kildare in Leinster. The reputation of her sanctity, and it is said, miracles, on which account she was called *Thaumaturga*, i. e. wonder-worker, made the place so renowned, and so much frequented, that the many buildings erected about the monastery during her life formed a town, which in process of time grew so considerable, as to have the episcopal see placed therein. The care she was obliged to take of all the religious houses that looked upon her as their mother and foundress, obliged her to undertake many journies, which took up a great part of her life, and were always so beneficial, that it may be said, she never ceased, till the end of her days, still to found some new monastery, through the piety of persons of quality, who gave her lands; so that in a short time Ireland was full of monasteries of St. Bridget. She was altogether estranged from all creatures, but extraordinarily charitable to the poor. These two virtues seem to have been particularly eminent in her, and were her peculiar character. She wrote a rule for the nuns of her own order, also an epistle to St. Aida, son of Degil, in Irish rhyme, wherein she dissuades him from travel, a poem on the virtues of St. Patrick, and the Quiver of Divine Love, or the Desires of the Pious. She died in five hundred and twenty-one or five hundred and twenty-three, aged seventy years, and was buried at Kildare, where the religious women, the more to honour her memory, invented an holy and perpetual fire, called St. Bridget's Fire, which occasioned the monastery to be called the House of Fire. They kept the same burning, through the connivance of the bishops, till the year twelve hundred and twenty, when Henry Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, caused it to be put out, to remove all occasion of superstition.

St. Ita, a virgin, was abbess of the nunnery of Cluaincredil. She was eminent for her holiness of life, and is said to have the gift of miracles.

St. Aide, a king of Leinster, founded the abbey of Kildare, and afterwards was abbot and bishop thereof.

St. Colmannelle founded the abbey of Linall, or Land-Elo, in Leinster, and the priory of Muchmor of Ulster.

St. Fiacre founded the abbey of Clonard in Meath, also those of Tibrada, Inisfallen, Ardfinan, and Druimder-Daloch.

St. Cronan founded the abbey of Roscree in the county of Tipperary, Glasmore in the county of Waterford, and of Ball in Connaught.

St. Lugadius founded an abbey in the isle of Rachin, on the coast of the county of Antrim, another at Cluain-Finchoil, and afterwards those of Druin-ineaschuin and of Fordhonim.

St. Laferian, or Molaise, founded the abbey of Leighlin, and was bishop and abbot thereof. He also founded the abbey of Devenests in the county of Fermanagh, and that of Echrois in Connaught.

## BOOK IV.

*Containing the reigns of eighteen monarchs, with an account of several ecclesiastics in the church of Ireland, in the seventh and eighth centuries, eminent for their piety and learning.*

A. D. }  
618. } 132. **MAOLCHOBHA**, upon the death of **Aodb** seized upon the crown. He was grandson of **Ainn** each, and reigned four years. He was at last slain the battle of **Bealgadin** by **Suibhne Mean**.

A. D. }  
622. } 133. **Suibhne Mean**, the son of **Fiachra**, descended from **Niall**, succeeded, and reigned thirteen years. In this prince's reign died, **Hugh Beanain**, king of **Munster**. **Suibhna** was slain by **Conall Claon**.

In this reign flourished the great **St. Carthage**, or **Mochuda**, so eminent for piety and learning, and those under his care, that having founded the abbey of **Ratheny** in **East-Meath**, people of all degrees flocked to it as to the fountain of piety and learning, it being a college of great note.\* This high character of **Mochuda** and his monks, who are said to be eight hundred and sixty-seven, raised a jealousy among the religious, who lived in the convent of **Jobh Meill**, they daily losing ground in the affections of the people. To recover their character, they sent messengers to **Mochuda** to desire him to leave **Ratheny**, and retire to his own country, which was **Munster**. Upon the arrival of the messengers, **Mochuda** told them, that he would never leave his monastery till he was compelled to it by a king or a bishop. This answer so enraged the monks of **Jobh Neill**, that they engaged **Blathmac** and **Diarmuidh**, princes of the country, to force **Mochuda** out of the convent. Accordingly they came,

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\*Psalter of Cashel.



attended by several of the northern clergy, with a design to seize upon the saint. Mochuda hearing of their approach, sent a Pictish nobleman, who was a lay monk in the house, to treat with Blathmac, and to desire the favour of continuing with his monks a year longer. Upon this, Blathmac granted Mochuda's request, and returned home. When the year was expired, Blathmac came again, with a resolution to turn Mochuda out of the convent; but was prevailed upon to let him remain there another year. At the expiration of the second year, Blathmac went to the convent, and finding Mochuda and his monks still in it, he by violence forced them out and took possession of the monastery. The good man, in this deplorable state, followed by his monks, travelled into Munster, where the king of the Deissyes gave him an honourable reception, and bestowed on him Dunsginne, now Lismore, where he founded a monastery, which was also a famous college, and a bishopric. He also founded an hospital for lepers. He wrote a rule for monks, in Irish, yet extant, and died in 636 or 637.

A. D. } 134. Daniel, brother to Maolchobha, succeed-  
635. } ed, and reigned thirteen years. This prince  
engaged Conall Claon, in the battle of Dun Citherne, and  
gained a complete victory, having made a terrible slaughter  
of Conall's troops. Also some time after he engaged  
him a second time, in the battle of Muighrath, in which  
Conall was slain, after he had governed the province of  
Ulster ten years. This monarch died a natural death.

A. D. } 135. Conall Claon, and his brother Ceallach,  
648. } sons of Maolchobha, succeeded, and reigned  
thirteen years. In the reign of these princes, died Cuan-  
na, the son of Calchine, descended from Heber Fionn;  
and who was king of Fearney in South Munster; he was  
a prince of the most distinguished courage of his time,  
and of extensive charity.

Also in this reign Ragallach, the son of Vadhach, governed Connaught; who having usurped the crown in prejudice to his nephew, (who had great interest in the affections of the people) endeavoured to assassinate him, but to no purpose. Ragallach, at length feigned himself sick, and sending for his nephew, told him, he need not be under any fear of ill designs against his per-

son, for he had but a short time to live, and therefore designed to name him for his successor; and desired that the next time he came to see him, he would lay aside all suspicion, and come in a manner that would bespeak it.\* The young prince, deceived by the hypocrisy of his uncle, came the next day unattended, and entering the chamber where the king lay, upon a sign given, he was set upon by a parcel of ruffians who soon dispatched him.—Ragallach being thus delivered from his fears, abandoned himself to all manner of debauchery, so that he deflowered his own daughter, and kept her as his concubine.—His queen offended at this impious act, brought the clergy to him, but their pious exhortations had no effect.—However, the vengeance of Heaven soon overtook him; for he was killed by a parcel of labourers, as he was hunting a stag, after a reign of twenty-five years. His queen died soon after, occasioned by the base usage of her husband.

Likewise in this reign was fought the battle of Carn Conuill, by Diarmuidh, the son of Hugh Slaine, in which was slain Cuan, the king of Munster, after a reign of ten years; also Cuan Conuill, king of Fingint, and Talmonach, king of O Liathain. This victory, it is said, was owing to the incessant prayers of the monks of Clonmacnoise; for which success Diarmuidh bestowed a large tract of land to that abbey, known at this day, by the name of Liathmantain.

Conall was at last slain by the above mentioned Diarmuidh, and Ceallach was lost in Brugh Os Boyne.

A. D. } 136. Blathmac and Diarmuidh Ruaidnaigh, the  
661. } two sons of Hugh Slaine, seized upon the government, and reigned seven years. These princes were carried off by the plague, which was called Buidhe Conuill.

A. D. } 137. Seachnusach succeeded his father Blath-  
668. } mac, and reigned six years. In this prince's reign the battle of Feirt was fought between the inhabitants of Ulster and the Picts, in which there was a terrible slaughter of both armies. Soon after Seachnusach was slain by Dubh Duin of Cineoil Cairbre.

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\*Psalter of Cashel.

A. D. } 138. Cionnfaola succeeded his brother Seach-  
674. } nusach, and reigned four years. In this prince's  
reign the famous monastery of Bangor in Ulster was  
burnt by the Picts, in a descent they made in the north.  
Soon after this, Cionnfaola, was slain by Fionnachta, the  
son of Dunchada, in the battle of Cealtrach.

A. D. } 139. Fionnachta Fleadhach, grandson of Hugh  
678. } Slaine, upon the death of Cionnfaola, mounted  
the throne, and reigned seven years. This prince fought  
the battle of Lochgabhair with the people of Leinster, in  
which most of the provincial forces were cut off, and the  
king gained a complete victory. In 684, Egfrid, king of  
Northumberland, under the conduct of Bertfrid, made a  
descent upon the kingdom, whose barbarity to the Irish,  
especially his not sparing the very churches and monas-  
teries, made the inhabitants, who were terrified at first,  
afterwards, defend themselves with so much courage and  
bravery, that they forced Bertfrid to return home with  
the remains of his army.\* Soon after this, Fionnachta  
was slain by Hugh the son of Dubthaigh, and by Conning  
at Grealiach Dolling.

A. D. } 140. Loingseach, the son of Daniel, descend-  
685. } ed from Niall, succeeded, and reigned eight  
years. In this reign the Welch invaded Ulster, and  
committed great ravages; but they were soon obliged to  
leave plundering, for the provincial forces came up with  
them at Magh Cuillinn, and entirely defeated them, cut-  
ting almost all those cruel invaders to pieces. Also in  
this reign the kingdom was miserably reduced by famine,  
occasioned by a dreadful murrain which raged among the  
cattle. Soon after this was fought the battle of Cormin,  
by Ceallach, king of Connaught, with the king of Ireland,  
in which action Loingseach lost his life.

A. D. } 141. Congall Cionnnaghair, the son of Fear-  
693 } gus Fanuid, descended from Niall, took pos-  
session of the throne, and reigned nine years. It is said  
this prince was a cruel persecutor of the clergy, both se-  
cular and regular, for he burned the clergy of Kildare,  
without mercy; but vengeance soon overtook him, for he  
died suddenly unlamented.

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\* Bede.

A. D. } 142. Feargall, the son of Maolduin, descended  
702. } ed from Niall, sat next on the throne, and reigned seventeen years. This prince's reign was remarkable for three extraordinary showers, viz. a shower of honey fell at Foithin Beag, a shower of money at Foithin More, and a shower of blood at Magh Laighion.

Upon some provocation from the king of Leinster, who was at this time Morrough Mac Broin, this monarch raised an army of twenty-one thousand choice troops, with which he marched against the province of Leinster. The Leinster forces consisted only of nine thousand. However, with this disadvantage, they attacked the royal army with so much bravery, that they pierced into the very middle of their enemies, with the slaughter of three thousand three hundred of them, some say seven thousand; upon which success a general rout ensued. In this action, called the battle of Alamnhuine, Feargall, monarch of Ireland was slain, which was occasioned, say the historians, by some of his forces breaking into a church called Cillin, and carrying off all the holy vessels, and also driving away a cow that belonged to a hermit of that place. This injustice was so resented by the old man, that he prayed to Heaven for exemplary vengeance upon the king and his army.

A. D. } 143. Fogarthach, the son of Niall, descended  
719. } from Niall the hero of the nine hostages, succeeded Feargall, and reigned but one year; for he was slain in the battle of Beilge, by Cionaoith.

A. D. } 144. Cionaoith, the son of Jargallath, descended  
720. } ed from Niall, succeeded, and reigned but four years; for he was slain with most of his army, by Flaithbheartach in the battle of Drom Curran.

A. D. } 145. Flaithbheartach, the son of Loingseach,  
724. } upon this defeat, succeeded, and reigned seven years. In this prince's reign, the battle of Fortharta, in Muirtheimne, was fought between the forces of Hugh Allain and Clanna Niall, and the inhabitants of Ulster, in which action Hugh Roin, who had been king of that province thirty years, and Concha, king of Cobha, were unfortunately slain. Not long after this battle Flaithbheartach died a natural death at Ardmagh.

A. D. } 146. Hugh Allain, the son of Feargall, suc-  
 731. } ceeded, and reigned nine years. In this prince's  
 reign, the battle of Bealach Faily was fought between the  
 inhabitants of Munster and Leinster, in which Ceallach,  
 king of Ossory was slain, and Cathall, king of Munster  
 gained a complete victory. The battle of Athfeanuigh  
 was soon after fought between the monarch of Ireland,  
 and Hugh, king of Leinster, in which action, which was  
 both sharp and bloody, nine thousand of the Leinster for-  
 ces were slain, among whom were Hugh, son to the king  
 of Leinster, and the principal of the nobility of the pro-  
 vince. The monarch's army suffered much, he being  
 dangerously wounded, and Hugh, a brave commander,  
 mortally wounded and died the same day. About this  
 time died Cathall king of Munster and Hugh Balve, king  
 of Connaught. Soon after this, fell the king of Ireland,  
 in the battle of Ceananus, by the sword of Daniel.

A. D. } 147. Daniel, the son of Morrough, descended  
 740. } from Niall, upon this victory, succeeded in the  
 throne, and reigned forty-two years. In this long reign  
 many battles were fought between the princes of the  
 island, with various success, the chief of which are as  
 follows.—The battle of Beallach Cro, by Criomthan, the  
 son of Eana, in which Fionn, the son of Airb, king of De-  
 albhna, was slain, with most of his troops. The battle of  
 Beallagh Gabhrah by Maconceara and the inhabitants of  
 Ossory, with Dungall, in which action Dungall, with the  
 principal gentry of Leinster, lost their lives. Cathasach,  
 king of the Picts, was killed at Rath-Beathach, by the in-  
 habitants of Leinster, in a descent he made upon that  
 province. Also in this reign a strange phenomenon ap-  
 peared in the air, like unto a great serpent. Soon after  
 this died Seachnusach, king of Cinsalach, and Mortough,  
 king of Leinster. The monarch soon after this, died a  
 natural death.

A. D. } 148. Niall Freasach, brother to Hugh Allain,  
 782. } succeeded Daniel, and reigned four years.  
 Ireland was sorely afflicted in this reign, for a dread-  
 ful famine which raged at this time, destroyed multi-  
 tudes of the inhabitants, besides several earthquakes  
 did considerable damage. Also in this reign the battle  
 of Achaliag was fought between the people of Jobh Bru-

in and Jobh Mean, in which both armies were almost cut off. Also the battle of Corann between the inhabitants of Cineal Connuill and Siol Eogan, in which action Hugh Allain, king of Fochla, gained a complete victory over Daniel, the son of Hugh Mundeirg, with a dreadful slaughter of the enemy. Niall Freasach did not long survive this battle, for he died in the island of Hy, where he had been to visit the famous monastery, founded by St. Collum Kille.

A. D. } 149. Dunchadha, the son of Daniel, succeed-  
786. } ed, and reigned twenty-seven years. There is nothing remarkable, related by the historians, that happened in his reign, as to the civil affairs of the kingdom. This monarch died in a peaceable manner in his palace.

I shall conclude this book with an account of the most eminent ecclesiastics in the church of Ireland, in the seventh and eighth centuries; and of the dispute between the Irish or Scottish church and that of the English, about the celebration of Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure. And first of those in the seventh century.

St. Evin founded the abbey of Ross in the county of Wexford, and was the first abbot thereof. He wrote the life of St. Patrick, which Joceline owns himself beholden.

Molua or Lugid, born in Munster, educated under St. Congal in Ulster, became afterwards abbot of the monastery called after him Clonfert Molua. He wrote a rule for monks, which being carried to Rome by the abbot Dagan, was approved by pope Gregory the Great. He died of a leprosy, the fourth of August, 609, and was buried in his own monastery. It is said, that he was a leper twenty years.

Dagan, his cotemporary, dwelt in a place called after him, Achad Dagain. He is said to have wrote a book to the churches of Britain.

St. Munnu, or Fintan, abbot of Taghmon near Wexford, founded the monastery of Cluinn Ædnach, Achad-Arglass, Achad-Finglass, and Lanchoil in Leinster, and those of Dumbleske and Ross Coerach in Munster. He wrote of the celebration of Easter, of which there was hot disputes between him and Laserian, bishop of Leigh-

lin. He died in his monastery of extreme old age in October 635.

St. Columbanus was born in Leinster in 560. In his youth he applied himself to learning, and made a great progress. Being handsome, and fearing to give way to worldly pleasures, he left Leinster, notwithstanding the opposition of his mother, and going into another province, he put himself under the conduct of the venerable Silenus, who had a wonderful gift for instructing his disciples in learning and piety. He made so great a progress in his school, that in a short time he attained much perfection in the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. He at length entirely forsook the world, and became a monk in the abbey of Bangor, under St. Congal, where having lived several years, and being desirous to travel into a strange country, to propagate the gospel, he acquainted the abbot with his intention, who granted him twelve monks, with whom he at first passed over into England, where he spent some time of his life; and from thence passing into Burgundy, the desert of Vauge, though barren and rocky, appeared to him agreeable. There he stayed, and for his place of abode, made choice of an old ruinous castle, called Annegray, where, with his companions, he practised all the exercises of the religious profession. St. Colombanus's name being become famous, drew to him abundance of people from all parts, either to sue for cure of diseases, or to put themselves under his conduct. This made him resolve to build another monastery in the same desert, and accordingly he luckily found an old castle, called Luxeuil, which had once been very strong, eight miles from Annegray. There he began to build a monastery, which was soon filled, and became a model for several others. The community in a short time became so numerous, that, as St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachias, reports, the monks, following the Acemetes, divided themselves into several parcels to sing the divine office, without any interruption. His disciples daily increasing, these two monasteries could not contain them; for which reason he built the monastery of Fontaine, a league from Luxeuil, where in process of time there were sixty monks. He subjected this monastery, and the other of Annegray, to that of Luxeuil, mak-

ing it the chief, as being the largest of the three; and this was the first original of priories, which having been founded by abbies, were subordinate to them. He kept the custom of Ireland in celebrating of Easter, which made the clergy in his neighbourhood to condemn him in that part, and he wrote several letters to justify himself; but would not recede from it, whereupon, he was twice banished, and is said to have been miraculously brought back. Then being offered by Theodebert, king of Austrasia, some place for himself and his disciples, near such of his subjects as still remained infidels, that he might preach the gospel to them, he travelled to Zug in Switzerland, and finding a convenient solitary place, he resolved to stay there. The inhabitants of those parts were then cruel and inhuman, following the worship of idols; many of whom he converted by his preaching. Those people being resolved to murder him, because St. Gall, one of his companions, had burnt their temples, he removed with his monks to a place called Arben, on the lake of Constance. His protector, king Theodebert, being afterwards vanquished by Thierri, who was a professed enemy to St. Columbanus, he again removed from thence into Italy, where he founded the abbey of Bobbio, on Mount Appennine. He wrote several pieces yet extant, for which see the history of the Irish writers. He died on the twenty-first of November, in the year six hundred and fifteen, in Bobbio monastery.

St. Kevin, or Coemgen, i. e. Fair-begotten, a native of Leinster, founded the abbey of Glandeloch in the county of Wicklow, and was the first abbot and bishop thereof. He wrote of the origin of the British, and of Heber and Heremon. He died the third of June, six hundred and eighteen, aged one hundred and twenty.

St. Colman, the first bishop of Dromore, said to have received his episcopal dignity from St. Gregory at Rome, fixed his see, says the writer of his life, upon the river Locha, where he had a great number of scholars, serving God according to his own most severe rule of discipline, of which he shewed himself a living pattern.

St. Gall, companion to St. Columbanus. By his persuasion Sigebert king of Westrick, erected a monastery in Switzerland, called S. Gall's monastery, which be-



came so rich and large, that it occasioned a town to be built there, which is of chief account in Germany. His works were published by Henry Cainis. He died of a fever at Arbone, aged ninety-five years, on the sixteenth of October, in the year six hundred and twenty-five, others say six hundred and thirty-five.

St. Livin flourished about this time, a learned man, and what is more glorious, a martyr for the faith; for, says Massy, St. Livin of Scottish descent, archbishop of Ireland, came with three of his scholars to Ghent, the sixteenth of July, Indict. 6. and continued there one month; afterwards he preached Christ at Huesia, and made many converts; but was murdered by some barbarous villains the twelfth of November, in the same year. He wrote an epistle to Florbert, abbot of St. Bavo's monastery, and St. Bavo's epitaph. He is reported also to have written some homilies, with some other things.—His relicks were translated to Ghent in one thousand and seven, and carefully preserved a long time.

St. Moling, archbishop of Ferns, founded the monasteries Tulagmin and Tegmoling. He wrote in Irish verse certain prophecies of the kings of Ireland, and of their battles and death to the end of time.

Ultan Mac Concubar, bishop of Ardbraccan in Meath, was a pious and learned man. He collected the miracles of St. Bridget in one volume alphabetically, and is supposed to have written the life of St. Patrick, and some hymns, to foretell the coming of the English, and the union of both kingdoms. He died at Ardbraccan the fourth of September, six hundred and six.

St. Brogan founded the monasteries of Mothil in Ulster, Cluain-Murchain, Moetgall, and Ross-Tuirk in Leinster. He wrote a hymn in Irish, of the virtues and miracles of St. Bridget, at the request of Ultan, who was his contemporary.

Aiden, a monk of Hy abbey, was famous for converting the kingdom of Northumberland; for although Paulinus had converted to the christian faith king Edwin and many of his subjects, yet upon the death of Edwin, his successor and the Northumbrians relapsed into idolatry, and remained so, till Oswald ascended the throne,

who no sooner had restored peace and tranquillity, than he exerted all his power to revive religion. With this view, he desired the king of Scotland to send him some persons of learning to instruct his subjects. Accordingly, Cormac, a monk of Hy, was despatched into England; but being disliked by the English, on account of his imperious temper, he returned to his monastery. Cormac making a report of his mission in a full chapter, Aiden found, from his own words, that he had not treated the English with that condescension their circumstances required, and therefore, told him: "In my opinion, brother, you have been somewhat too rough and severe in your carriage to those, whom you designed to convert, not considering that the christian religion is to be propagated by mild and gentle, not by compulsive methods."—Upon this, the monks unanimously declared, that Aiden was the fittest person to undertake the conversion of the Northumbrians; and being first consecrated a bishop, he began his journey in six hundred and thirty-five. Bede tells us, that he was a pious and religious man, but that his zeal was without knowledge, because he did not observe the custom of the Romish church, in the celebration of Easter, keeping it after the manner of the eastern christians. However, as much a schismatic as he was, nothing can be added to the character given him by Bede. He says, that Aiden not only instructed christians in their duty, but also by his piety and fervent charity charmed the very pagans, converting them to the christian faith. Such was his success among the Northumbrians, that they returned, in swarms, to the profession of christianity. Oswald was so zealous in this work, that he vouchsafed to be Aiden's interpreter; to explain his discourse to the people. Aiden fixed his episcopal see in the little island of Lindisfarne on the coast of Northumberland, though Gregory had ordered, that York should be the principal see, for the northern parts. This renowned doctor died in six hundred and fifty-two, having governed the church of Northumberland seventeen years. He wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, homilies and sermons.

Braccan, abbot of Ardraccan, which was so called from him, now a manor belonging to the bishops of

Meath, lived in six hundred and fifty. He is said to have committed to writing his prophecies of the wars of Ireland, and of the coming and success of the English.

St. Canin founded the abbey of Iniscalter in Thomond, and was abbot thereof. He died in his abbey in six hundred and fifty-three, and is said to have wrote upon the Psalms.

Finan, successor to Aiden, in the see of Landisfarn, and a monk of Hy, died in six hundred and sixty-one. He was, according to Bede, a pious and religious man, and had the gift of miracles; however, he could not be brought to conform to the customs of the church of Rome in the celebration of Easter, &c. although Ronan his countryman, who had his education in France, was sent to represent to him the reasons alleged by the Romanists, on this article; but he was so far from being able to convince him, that Finan became a more open opposer of the Roman customs. He wrote a book of the antient usage of the passover.

Fursey having founded the monasteries of Cluinet, Lecain, and another in an island of the lake of Curbe in Connaught, left Ireland, and sailed for England in six hundred and thirty-seven, where he was joyfully received by Sigebert, king of the East-Angles, who employed him in converting that nation, and his labours were very successful. Bede gives him an extraordinary character, attributing to him several miracles; nay he assures us, that, like St. Paul, he was wrapt up into Heaven.—He founded the abbey of Cnobersburgh, uow called Bury-Castle in Suffolk, where Sigebert, by the persuasion of Fursey, exchanged a regal dignity for a monk's hood. The commotions that arose upon the king's resigning the crown, obliged Fursey to retire into France with friar Ultan, leaving the care of his abbey to friar Foilan and the priests Gobban and Dicull, where he founded the monastery of Lagny, in the jurisdiction of Meaux. He died at Perone in Picardy the sixteenth of January, in the year six hundred and forty-eight or six hundred and fifty-three. At his death, he committed the care of Lagny abbey to St. Eloquius an Irishman, who perceiving his scholars at variance among themselves, retired with a few of his friends to Grimac near the Isar.

Diuma, with his three companions Beti, Adda and Cedda, were brought into the kingdom of Mercia, the largest of the heptarchy, containing sixteen counties, by Peda, eldest son of the king of that kingdom, from Northumberland, in six hundred and forty-three, where he had been to marry Anfleda, king Oswy's daughter, for whom he was obliged to turn Christian. Diuma, who was the only bishop of the four, governed the church of Merica prosperously, for some years, he and his fellow-labourers having met with a plentiful harvest in this large kingdom, and the last of the seven that was converted to christianity. Ceallach succeeded Diuma.

Cedd, brother to Cedda above-mentioned, properly may be called the apostle of the East Saxons; for although Mellitus, one of the missionaries sent over to Austin, preached the gospel to them, yet the success he met with was, in all probability, owing to Sabert king of Essex, and Ethelbert king of Kent, since, upon their deaths, all the East Saxon converts revolted to paganism, and expelled Mellitus, never admitting him to return. The conversion of the East Saxons, then, must be reckoned from the year six hundred and fifty-three, when Sigebert the Good, governed that kingdom. This prince preserving an uninterrupted friendship with Oswy, king of Northumberland, and making him frequent visits, was instructed in the christian religion at his court, and received baptism there. Returning, he brought with him Cedd, a Scotch or Irish priest, who was also a bishop, attempted the conversion of the East Saxons, and with remarkable success. He was the only Scotchman, that after the synod of Whitby, remained with his flock, though the controversy, about Easter, was decided, contrary to his opinion; and he even censured Colman and his adherents, for leaving their flocks, on account of a thing of so little importance. As Cedd often visited Northumberland, where he had spent a considerable part of his life, Adelwalt, king of Deira, gave him certain lands near Lestingham, where he founded a monastery. Thither he usually retired to practise the greatest austerities; and there also he died of the plague, after he had governed the church of Essex several years. Bede, who gives him great encomiums, mentioning his austere way of living, takes

occasion to tell us, that fasting was religiously put in practice by all who pretended to a regular life, and that some fasted every Wednesday and Friday, till three o'clock in the afternoon.

Arbogast, an Irishman, came into Alsace, says Gasper Bruch, a stranger and a hermit, and in a sacred grove there, almost the same place where Hagenau is situated. He built an oratory, and constantly served God with fasting and prayer; yet not so taken up with a lazy devotion as to do nothing else, for he found opportunity to come from his cell and carefully instructed the inhabitants in the true knowledge and fear of God, reprehending their idolatrous practices, and confuting their wild opinions.—Hence he came to be known to king Dagobert, by whose appointment he succeeded St. Amand in the see of Strassburgh in Germany, where having sate twelve years he died, and lies buried near the gibbet, in St. Michael's Mount, being desirous to imitate Christ, who suffered without Jerusalem in the place of execution. He wrote some homilies and learned commentaries on St. Paul's epistles.

Colman, successor to Finan in the see of Lindisfarn, was famous for his contest with the Romanists about the observation of Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure; for whilst Aiden and Finan lived, the Romanists, who had a veneration for these holy bishops, bore with some patience, the diversity of opinions with which England was divided, in relation to the keeping Easter, &c. but when Colman succeeded, in the reign of Oswy, king of Northumberland, the dispute was renewed with greater vehemence than ever. The Romanists, at length, prevailed on Oswy to call a synod, in the nunnery of Hilda, at Streanes-halh or Whitby, to decide this affair.\* In this synod, which was held in 664, each party procured as many voices as they could; but historians tell us, the Romanists exceeded the others in zeal and activity. At the head of the Scotch or Irish party, were king Oswy, Colman, bishop of the Northumbrians, and the other Scotch priests and monks, with all that received their ordination from them. On the contrary side, appeared An-

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\* Bede, Rapin.

fleda Oswy's queen, Alfred king of Deira, Oswy's natural son, Wilfrid a priest, his preceptor, who had studied at Rome, Agilbert bishop of Paris, who had been bishop of the West-Saxons, Agathon a priest of the same church, Ronan a Scotch priest, James the deacon, and all who had been disciples of the Italian priests and monks. As this dispute about Easter, was the cause of great commotions in England, I shall give a brief account of its first rise and original.

Towards the end of the second century, a controversy arose in the church, about the day on which the festival of Easter should be observed. The churches of Asia kept it on the fourteenth day of the moon, on whatsoever day of the week it happened, according to the custom of the Jews: but the western churches put it off until the Sunday after the fourteenth day, because that was the day of our Saviour's resurrection. Several councils were called, in the east as well as west, to determine this affair; but both parties stiffly adhered to their opinions, each of them pretending to apostolical tradition, the eastern bishops from St. John, and the western from St. Peter and Paul. If we admit both these traditions to be true, it evidently follows, that it is not very material, which of them be observed, since the apostles had not settled this point among themselves; and indeed, notwithstanding this diversity of custom both parties held communion with one another, till the time of Pope Victor I. who excommunicated the Quartodecimans, or those that kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, though of the same opinion with Victor, severely reprimanded him, for uncharitably making a rupture on the account of a thing so trivial. He reminds him of Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xistus, his predecessors, who held communion with the churches of Asia; and he farther tells him, that it would have been more to his credit, if he had copied after the example of Anicetus, who gave the eucharist with his own hand to Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, though of different sentiments from him, in this very matter.

Victor's imperious treatment of the churches of Asia, only made them more tenaciously adhere to their opin-

ion, and they believed they were the less obliged to conform to the practice of the church of Rome, as the pope in the mean, could not produce any authentic proofs of their tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul, though the Asiatics would have been equally perplexed to make out theirs from St. John. Socrates the historian has a remarkable passage to this purpose: "Neither Christ nor his apostles," says he, "have given any orders concerning the paschal feast, as Moses did to the Jews, it not being their design to determine circumstances about holy days, but to instruct Christians in the precepts of piety and a holy life. It is my opinion therefore, that as certain customs have been introduced in each country, this of the paschal solemnity, was one among the rest, and not built upon the authority of the Apostles. The Quartodecimans affirm, that the fourteenth day was instituted by St. John. The Romanists tell us they had their practice from St. Peter and St. Paul. But as neither of them have proved their assertion by any authentic record, it is evident the festival of Easter may be kept in every place according to the custom first introduced there."

Hence it appears, that they who were not fond of wrangling, did not apprehend this controversy to be of any importance to religion. However, for the sake of uniformity, even in the smallest matters, the council of Arles, in 314, determined that Easter should in all places, be celebrated on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon, which happened next after the vernal equinox or the twenty-first of March. This canon was ratified by the council of Nice, in 325, and the emperor issued orders throughout the whole Roman empire, to have it put in execution. His letter to the governors and other magistrates declared, that the council came to this resolution, because the Quartodecimans were the fewest in number, and too nearly followed the custom of the Jews. For these reasons it was, that the council ordered, that Easter, should be kept on the Sunday after the full moon in March; but it is uncertain whether it was meant that the people should reckon from the beginning of the fourteenth of the moon, or from the evening and

beginning of the fifteenth.\* Pursuant to this decree, all the churches observed Easter day on a Sunday. One circumstance however, viz. what was to be done when the full moon fell out on a Sunday, not being thoroughly settled, was the occasion of a diversity; for some churches, the Scotch in particular, began their Easter on that very day, and consequently, at the same time with the Jews, though the church of Rome put it off to the Sunday following. Since that time, some alterations have been made, which introduced different customs; whereas, for a long time, a cycle of eighty-four years was every where made use of, to discover the precise time of Easter. The church of Rome invented for that purpose, a vastly more convenient cycle of nineteen years, obliging all the churches under her jurisdiction, to a conformity to it. Though doubtless, this cycle was calculated nearest the truth, yet as it was unknown to the Britons and Scots, who held but little correspondence with Rome, they adhered to their old method.

Easter, being thus celebrated at different times, it sometimes happened in Oswy's court, that whilst the king kept the paschal-feast, the queen, who observed the custom of the Romanists, was advanced no farther in lent than Palm-Sunday. Oswy was, therefore, desirous of fixing Easter-day, that all might keep it, at the same time. Having made a short speech, to open the council, he ordered Colman to produce his arguments, in vindication of the custom of the church of Scotland. Colman alleged, that it had been the constant practice of his predecessors, and of those from whom he received his consecration; that Columba, Aiden, and Finan had always observed it; and that, farther to confirm this point, he could advance the authority of St. John the beloved apostle. Having, at large, insisted on this argument, Agilbert bishop of Paris, was desired to make a reply to what Colman had asserted; but he, having excused himself, because of his want of skill in the English language, requested that Wilfrid might have leave to speak the sense of the Romanists. Wilfrid, obtaining the king's permis-

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\* An ecclesiastical day commences from six o'clock the preceding evening.





sion, answered Colman very warmly. He explained the method of fixing Easter made use of by the church of Rome, and asserted, that all the churches in the world conformed to it, except the Scots, Picts and Britons, who persisted in their foolish obstinacy. Colman replied, that Wilfrid's manner of speaking highly reflected on St. John's memory, who never would have established a foolish custom. Wilfrid, conscious that he had expressed himself somewhat too freely, to justify St. John, said, that he could not, at once throw off all the Jewish ceremonies, lest he should offend the Asiatic Jews, as St. Paul, for the same reason, had circumcised Timothy; and, in the last place, he alleged, that the Romanists exactly followed in this particular, what was prescribed by St. Peter and St. Paul.

The passage I cited from Socrates shews, that it was as difficult to prove, that the custom of the Romish church had its rise from St. Peter, as that the practice of the Scotch church was derived from St. John. Besides, the cycle of nineteen years, then used by the Romanists, was, doubtless, invented after the time of St. Peter; but, as Colman and his party were but little acquainted with what was transacted abroad, and did not so much propose to prevail on the Romans to observe their customs, as to persuade them to let them continue their own ancient practice, without interruption, they still appealed to the authority of St. John and Columba. Wilfrid, however, demanded of Colman, with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to put Columba in the balance against St. Peter the prince of the apostles, to whom our Saviour said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." We are not told, what answer Colman returned; for it must be remarked, that all the account we have of this council, is given us by the partisans of Rome. However, it appears, Oswy was convinced, that St. Peter had a prerogative above the other apostles, since he declared, at last, for the custom he had established at Rome, in preference to that of St. John. Bede tells us, the king was brought to this conviction, by being told, that as St. Peter had the keys of heaven, he would deny him entrance, if he obstinately opposed his own institution; and Oswy's declaration, instantly, drew over a majority of votes for the Romanists.

In this synod, the controversy, about the ecclesiastical tonsure was also debated. The Romanists asserted, that the head ought to be shaved round, exactly in the place where our Saviour wore the crown of thorns, of which it was an emblem; but the Scotch priests shaved the fore-part of the head, from ear to ear. Bede does not relate the issue of this debate; but, in all likelihood, it was determined in favour of the Romanists.

The affair of Easter being decided against the Scots, Colman left his bishopric, and returned to Ireland with some English, and all the Irish which accompanied him to England, and spent the remainder of his life at Inisbosin. He also built the monastery of Mayo, the occasion whereof is delivered by Bede as follows. "Colman coming to the isle aforesaid, built a monastery, and placed in it the monks whom he brought with him out of both nations, who not agreeing together, because the Scots would, in the summer-season, when the fruits of the earth were ripe, disperse themselves and live on the people, in those places where they were acquainted; but in the winter would return, and enjoy in common those things which the English had taken care to provide for themselves: Colman, to remedy this dissention, travelled far and near, till he found a proper place to build a monastery, called in the Scotch language Maigio, part of which he purchased from the lord of the see for that purpose, with this condition in the deed of sale, that the residuary monks should offer up prayers for that lord who provided them this commodious habitation; and forthwith a monastery was erected, with the assistance of the lord and the neighbours, where he placed the English, (among whom was St. Gerald) the Scots being left in Inisposfin." He adds afterwards, "those English lived after the example of the antient fathers, in great continency and sincerity, on the sole labour of their hands." Harpsfield says, that Colman was very eminent for his virtue, works of mortification and piety. He wrote a book in the defence of the Quartodecimans, of the tonsure of clerks, and an exhortation to the inhabitants of the Hebrides.

Disibod, or Disibode, an Irish bishop, having abdicated his bishopric, in six hundred and seventy-four, travelled

to Germany with some other learned men, where he erected a monastery, in a place called after him Mount Disibod, now Disenberg, in the Lower Palatinate, and there died, aged above eighty. He wrote of the proficiency of monks in their solitary estate.

Maidulph, a learned monk, lived in six hundred and seventy-six. He travelled into Britain, and built a little monastery at Ingleborne, and after him called Maidulphsbury, now Malmsbury in Wiltshire, and was the first abbot thereof, which was afterwards richly endowed by the bounty of king Athelstan, and other benefactors. Here he opened a school, and taught many persons in great esteem afterwards for their learning. He wrote of the observation of Easter, of the tonsure and celibacy, rules for attaining the arts, and of natural sciences, hymns, dialogues, epistles, with many other things not now extant. He died very old at Malmsbury, and lies interred in his monastery.

St. Cuthbert son to an Irish king, was born, some say, at Kells in the county of Meath, others at Kilmacudrick four miles from Dublin. His mother going a pilgrimage to Rome, left him in the abbey of Mailrose, where he was made a monk, then prior, which offices he discharged with honour. Afterwards he was persuaded by bishop Etta to live with him at Lindisfarn; but affecting a solitary life, he passed over to the isle of Farn, about three leagues distant in the sea, where he continued till he was chosen bishop by the council that deposed Thumberth for presuming to take it ill, that Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, should exercise his jurisdiction over the northern churches. This was, indeed, contrary to the regulation of Gregory I. and the pall, sent to Paulinus the first bishop of the Northumbrians, evidently proves it was not the design of the court of Rome, that the churches of the north should have any dependence on Canterbury; but Aiden, Finan, and Colman not having demanded the pall from the pope, York and Lindisfarn had only the bare title of a bishopric, which did not give these Scotch or Irish prelates the least disturbance, domineering over the church being a thing that was farthest from their thoughts. However Cuthbert opposed his own election, through an excess of modesty. The bishops, who

all thought him worthy of the episcopal dignity, with difficulty, brought him to compliance, being, at last, obliged to consent, that he should continue at Lindsfarn, where he had long resided, and bishop Eatta was translated to Hagulstad. But Cuthbert after two years resigned his bishopric, and returned to the isle of Farn, where he died soon after in six hundred and eighty-seven. In process of time, his body being removed to Durham,

**he became so renowned for miracles, that of all the saints famous in England, he had the greatest veneration paid to his memory.**

St. Kilian, called the apostle of the Franks, was abbot of Teg-Talain in Ulster. Leaving Ireland he passed over to Germany with Colman and Totnan his companions, where he was made bishop of Wirtzburg. Having converted by his preaching and exemplary piety to christianity, duke Gosbert, and almost all Franconia, he advised the duke to put away his wife Geilane, who had been his brother's wife, whom he had married in his state of paganism, his marriage being within the degrees forbidden by the law of God. The success of which advice was, that he, with his companions, were dignified with martyrdom, being put to death in a most cruel manner, through the wicked devices of that provoked woman, the eighth of July six hundred and eighty-nine. Their bones were sometime after interred in a decent manner, by St. Burchard, bishop of that see.

Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, a good and wise man, well versed in the scriptures, says Bede, was sent legate into Britain, to Alfred king of Northumberland; and while he continued there, he conformed to the custom of the Romanists in keeping Easter. After his return home he endeavoured to bring over those of Hy monastery to observe the like custom, but without success; he therefore sailed to Ireland, and preaching to the Irish, he with modest exhortation brought them all over to the opinion of the Romanists with respect to Easter, except those in subjection to the monastery of Hy. From thence he returned to Hy, where he attempted again to persuade them to a conformity, but to no purpose. Soon after this he died. He wrote several pieces yet extant

St. Abban was famous for founding many abbies at Drumchain, Canros, Maghermuidhe, Fetherde, and Kil-Ab-bain in Leinster; at Cluainirard, Cluainfinglas, Brigoban, Kilnamarban, Husneagh, Cluaincombrain, Magee, Cuilcolluinge and Kilruimthir in Munster.

St. Barri or Barrindeus was also famous for founding an abbey at Drumcuillin in Leinster, and another in the city of Cork in the province of Munster.

St. Donan founded the abbey of Corbal and the priory of Tome in the county of Tipperary.

St. Fechin, a pious and learned man founded an abbey at Fourre at West-Meath, where he taught many persons eminent for their learning, it being a college of great note; he also founded the abbies of Cone in Mayo, Assudare and Bellisechin in Sligo, Immag and Ardoilen in Galway, and lastly those of Kilmamanach and Lemmag.

St. Manchin founded the abbies of Moethal, Menedracaid, Tuaine, Grene and Leithmanchin.

St. Murus, or Muris, founded the abbies of Fathene and Forgnuidhe.

St. Nestán founded the abbies of Ireland's Eye, and Mountgarret in Leinster.

St. Sacre, or Mosacre, founded the abbies of Tegsacra and Finmach.

St. Tola founded the abbies of Ardbraccan and Desert Tola.

Sedulius the younger, an eminent scholar and divine, who flourished in the eighth century was present at a council held at Rome by pope Gregory II. the fifth of April, seven hundred and twenty-four, against unlawful marriages, (together with Hergust a bishop of the Picts,) and thus subscribed the decree; "Sedulius, bishop of Britain, of Scottish descent, hath subscribed this constitution promulgated by us." He left notes on St. Matthew's gospel, which are in manuscript at Paris.

St. Coman, Bishop of Roscommon in Connaught, was eminent for his piety and learning. He wrote a rule for monks, and died in seven hundred and forty-seven.

Albun, otherwise Witta, White and Whitane, leaving Ireland, preached the gospel to the people of Thuringia in Germany, with extraordinary success, where he became bishop of Buraburge near Frislar, which see was

united to that of Paderborne, in seventeen hundred and forty-four. He wrote a book to the people of Durling, and flourished in seven hundred and forty-two.

Virgil, a person of great piety, a philosopher and mathematician, descended of an antient and honourable family in Ireland, leaving his native country, travelled into France, where he spent two years in the court of king Pepin, by whom he was kindly entertained for his learning and sweetness of behaviour. He was then sent by the king to Otilo duke of Bavaria, to be preferred to the bishopric of Saltzburgh, and two years after he received consecration the fifteenth of June, seven hundred and sixty-seven, and the same year laid the foundation of the new church at Saltzburgh, which being finished in the thirteenth year following, he dedicated it to the honour of St. Rupert, whose bones at that time he translated thither. He wrote a discourse of the Antipodes, which he held, though against the received opinion of the antients, who maintained the contrary, imagining the earth to be a plane, and the heavens in some part joined to it. Upon this opinion he was undeservedly a great sufferer, being opposed by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz. He died the twenty-seventh of November, seven hundred and eighty-five, and was at length canonized by Gregory IX. in twelve hundred and thirty-three.

St. Engus was famous for founding the abbey of Deser-Engus, of which he was abbot and bishop, and also for writing a martyrology in Irish verse, yet extant.

## BOOK V.

*Origin of the Danes. Their continual irruptions, and conquest of the isle under Turgesius. The Irish drive the Danes out of the kingdom, and recover their liberty, under the conduct of Maolseachluin I. Of the farther irruptions of the Danes till the reign of Maolseachluin II. And of the most eminent men who flourished in the Irish church in the ninth and tenth centuries.*

A. D. }  
 815. } 150. **H**UGH, surnamed Dorndighe, i. e. Finger-sucker, the son of Niall Freasach, upon the death of Dunchadha, ascended the throne, and reigned monarch of Ireland twenty-four years. This prince's reign was principally remarkable for the invasion of the Danes, who were hitherto strangers to the island. But before I proceed to particulars, it will not be amiss to enquire into the original of a nation, that in the ninth century, became so formidable to all Europe.

Scandia or Scandinavia,\* lying in the North of Europe,† is in length, from north to south, about nine hundred and sixty, and in breadth, from east to west, about three hundred and sixty miles. If we can give credit to the northern historians, this country was inhabited, soon after the flood, by two nations, or rather two branches of the same nation, viz. the Goths and Swedes, who erected two large kingdoms in this part of the world. From these two nations, who were sometimes united and at other times divided, descended all those colonies, which, upon the decline of the Roman empire, over-ran the rest of Europe.

In the reign of Erick, sixth king of the Goths, and said to be cotemporary with Terah, Abraham's father, Gothland was so very populous, that the country was unable to maintain its inhabitants. To remove this inconven-

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\* Containing Norway and so much of Sweden, as lay west of Bosnia. It was also stiled Baltia, whence the Baltic sea.

† Rapin.

lence, Erick was obliged to send away part of his subjects to try their fortune in the neighbouring isles,\* who at length, not only peopled the islands, but also Jutland on the continent, formerly called Cimbrica Chersonesus.† The colonies thus dispersed, for above seven hundred years, were subject to the kings of Gothland. Humel, the sixteenth king of the Goths, making them independent, permitted them to have for their king, Dan his son, from whom Denmark received its name, and who is said to have been cotemporary with Gideon. Norway also in all likelihood, was peopled by Gothic colonies, since it was, for a long time, under the dominion of the kings of Gothland. After many revolutions, Norway was at length governed by judges independent of Gothland,‡ till about the end of the ninth century, it became subject to a king.

The Danes and Norwegians being thus separated from their ancestors, the Goths and Swedes grew so powerful, as to be in a condition to withstand them both in several wars. The situation of their country, and the plenty of materials for the building and equipping a fleet, soon made them masters by sea. In process of time they employed all their naval forces in ravaging the coasts of Europe. France, England, Ireland and the Low Countries were most exposed to their depredations; and, for above one hundred and fifty years, nothing was to be seen at sea, but the Danish pirates. They became so potent, that Charles the Great could never subdue the Saxons, whilst they were assisted by the Danes. History informs us, that the emperor having sent Pepin his son to make war against the Saxons, that prince was prevented in his designs, by Gothrick king of Denmark's sending a reinforcement of Danes, on board three hundred vessels.|| A northern historian affirms, that Charles the Great was never more agreeably pleased than with the news of Gothrick's death, having despaired of accomplishing his ends during the life of that prince.§

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\* As in those times, none had a permanent interest in land, it was decided by lot who should leave their country, in quest of new habitations. Cæs. de Bell. Gal. l. 6. c. 20. P. Warnfrid, de Geat, Longobard. c. 2.

† Janus Kelding. ‡ Suaning Cron. Dan.

|| Meursius Hist. Dan. § Jo. Magn. l. 17. c. 4.



As people increase and multiply exceedingly in cold countries, Denmark and Norway were often compelled to send off numerous colonies to make room for the rest. Having a natural inclination to a seafaring life, they cheerfully abandoned their country, as they had by this means, an opportunity to play the pirate, under the pretence of being in quest of new habitations. The first adventurers meeting with success, the richest and most powerful of their countrymen were tempted to seek their fortune in the same manner. They entered into associations, much of the same kind with those of this day, made in time of war, by the inhabitants of the sea-port towns in France and Flanders, and always by the corsairs of Barbary; and at length they fitted out large fleets. As they acted under the authority of their kings, who, having a share in their plunder, provided them with admirals and generals; so when a considerable prize was in view, they did not scruple to command them in person. These are the fleets that made such ravages in several parts of Europe, causing the inhabitants of France, England, Ireland, and the Low Countries to make dismal lamentations, for the miseries brought upon them by the northern nations. They were called in France, Normans, i. e. men of the north, but in Ireland they were commonly called Oustmans, i. e. men of the east, the Irish calling all those Easterlings, who came from the eastern parts of Europe in respect of them, excepting France, one part whereof is nevertheless to the eastward of Ireland.

It is obvious, from what has been said, that the view of the Danes, when they first invaded Ireland, was only to plunder; and therefore they did not make war like regular troops, with a fixed design, but like pirates, what they could not carry off, they sacked and destroyed. As they were divided into several independent companies, it often fell out, that as soon as one was gone, another came; so that the inhabitants had scarce any respite from their incursions. But what was still worse, the Irish princes, instead of uniting their forces, to make head against the common enemy, often times would take an advantage of the weakness of their neighbour, by entering his territories with fire and sword, and even employing the Danes as auxiliaries, in their quarrels. But to return to the Danish invasion.

The first descent that the Danes made upon Ireland, was in the west of Munster, when Airtre governed that province, and they came in fifty ships. They immediately fell to plundering the inhabitants, and setting the country on fire wherever they came, which obliged Airtre to raise an army in haste to stop the cruelties of these invaders. He came up with them, and a sharp action en-

sued in which the Danes were routed with the loss of four hundred and sixteen men, which struck them with such terror, that they retired with great precipitation to their ships, being favoured by the darkness of the night, and set sail for some other place.

Six years after this defeat, when Feidlime was king of Munster, the Danes, in a large fleet of ships landed upon the coast of that province, where they plundered and ravaged the country, with the utmost barbarity, not sparing age or sex, nor even the churches and monasteries; but the provincial forces soon obliged the Danes to retire, with considerable loss.

About the same time another fleet of the Danes arrived in the east part of the island, and carrying terror wherever they came, they plundered the famous monastery of Banchor, killing the bishop and religious of the place. These merciless invaders were reinforced by another fleet from Norway, which landed at Jobh Cinsalach, and struck such a terror into the inhabitants, that they fled from the Danes; so that they plundered all the country they went through, destroying the churches and monasteries, and committing unheard of cruelties, without opposition; till at last coming into Ossory, when they were intent upon carrying off their booty, the inhabitants rose upon them, and slew seven hundred and seven of the Danes upon the spot, putting the rest to flight, with the loss of all their plunder. But the Danes no way discouraged at this defeat, made the other parts of the island feel their resentment, by plundering Dundermuighe, Inis Eogan, Diosiort, Tiobruid, and Lismore; after which, having likewise plundered them, they burnt to the ground Cillmoilaisy, Glandeloch, Cluinard, Mo-beodhg, Suirn Collum Cille, Diamhliah, Ciaran, Slaine, Cealla Saile, and Cluain Vadhme Mungairid.

Soon after this, another fleet of Danes arrived in the

harbour of Limerick, and landing, they set fire to Corcabaisgian, Tradruighe and Jobh Conuill Gabhra, which consumed them to ashes. But they were not suffered to carry off their booty; for the people of Jobh Conuill attacked the Danes with so much bravery and resolution, at Seannuid, that they gained a complete victory, obliging them to leave their plunder behind them.

In the seventeenth year of Hugh Dorndighe's reign, arrived in the north of the kingdom, with a large fleet of ships, Turgesius the Norwegian. He is said by some to be king of Norway, and others the king's son. Be this as it will, all the historians agree in giving him the character of one of the bravest men of his time, but of a fierce and cruel disposition.

The Danes, who were divided into several bodies, throughout the kingdom, and consequently under many commanders, no sooner heard of the arrival of Turgesius, than they unanimously chose him for their general in chief.

Turgesius upon this union, having secured his plunder, immediately dispatched several parties, to ravage that part of the kingdom called Leath Cuinn, in order to make a conquest of that half, with orders not to spare age or sex, thereby to strike a terror in the inhabitants.\* He also divided his ships, and sent some to Logh Neagh, others to Lughmiagh, and the rest to Logh Ribh, to secure his soldiers in their ravages. This cruel order was immediately put in execution, the lands of Leath Cuinn were covered with the dead bodies of the inhabitants, that had not secured themselves by a timely flight; Ard-magh, in which was a famous university, said to have seven thousand students, was plundered three times in one month, and the abbot of Ard-magh taken prisoner by Turgesius; the churches and monasteries were set on fire; so that one half of the kingdom seemed to be in one continued flame.

Notwithstanding this success of Turgesius, Hugh the monarch of Ireland, instead of endeavouring to stop the conquests of the Danes, upon some provocation from the people of Leinster, he entered that province, and miserably distressed the inhabitants; and having conquered

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\*Psalter of Cashel.

part of that kingdom, he divided it between Muireadhach the son of Ruarach, and Muireadhach the son of Bruin.

Soon after this division, Muireadhaig was set on fire by the Danes, after having been plundered. Upon this success, they made incursions upon the people of Umhail, and over-ran the country, carrying away a large booty.

About the time of these transactions, the latter end of the month of March, there were such terrible claps of thunder and lightning, that one thousand and ten persons were killed by them, between Corcabaisginn and the sea-side. At the same time the sea overflowed a large tract of land, sufficient for pasturing an immense number of cattle, which could never be recovered. Also the island called Inis Fidhe was forced asunder, and divided into three parts.

Hugh Dorndighe, after a troublesome reign, was slain in the battle of Dafearta, by Muolcanaigh.

A. D. } 151. Conchabhar, i. e. Connor, the son of  
837. } Donough, of the line of Heremon, succeeded  
Hugh, and reigned fourteen years. In this prince's reign the kingdom was harassed with the continual irruptions of the Danes, who began to settle in the island, and among other devastations Inis Damhly and Corke were plundered and burnt.

They also plundered Banchor and Dundaleathglass, which latter was then a famous university. And not content with plundering Moigh Bille, they set it on fire, not suffering the hermits to save themselves by flight, so that they all miserably perished in the flames.

Connor, upon these repeated cruelties of the Danes, raised a gallant army, and engaging them in the plain of Tailtean, gained a complete victory. Upon this success, the inhabitants of Leinster resolved to oppose the progress of the Danes, with all the forces of the province, and coming up with them at Druim Conla, a dreadful battle ensued, the success of which was doubtful for some time, till Conuing the chief of the tribe of the Fortuaths, a distinguished warrior, was unfortunately slain, which so dispirited the Leinster troops, that they

fled with great precipitation, and a most terrible slaughter followed.

Soon after this defeat, the Danes plundered Ardmagh again, with great barbarity, who in the month following spoiled, with their usual cruelty, Lughmagh, Finne Cianachta, and Lismore, which was then an university in great esteem; also all the churches and religious houses that fell in their way, they broke into, killed or expelled the members, and seizing upon the consecrated vessels, and whatever they found, carried them off.

The year eight hundred and forty, or, as some affirm, the year before, was very remarkable, for the entire destruction of the Picts. After a long war with the Scots, they lost two battles successively, which put it out of their power to make any longer resistance.\* Keneth II. king of Scotland, incensed against them, for killing his father, and inhumanly mangling his corpse, told the Scots this was their time to extirpate a nation that had always been their enemies; and, accordingly, they treated the Picts with so much barbarity, that, after this, there remained nothing, but the memory of that miserable people, which so long flourished in Great Britain. On this account Keneth II. was esteemed by the Scots as an illustrious prince, and one of the founders of their monarchy. But to return to the monarch of Ireland.

Connor not being able to redress the misfortunes brought upon his country, by the merciless Danes, it is supposed, died with grief.

A. D. } 152. Niall Caille, the son of Hugh Dorndighe,  
851. } succeeded, and reigned fifteen years. This prince's reign was continually disturbed by the Danes, as well as that of his predecessor. They spoiled the country wherever they came, striking terror by their depredations, and in the confusion, destroyed the magnificent church of Kildare.

The success of the Danes and Norwegians, encouraged other foreigners to invade the island; accordingly a large fleet of these people arrived in the mouth of the Boyne, whom the historians call Normans, and another fleet of forty sail came into the mouth of the Liffey. These in-

\*Buchan. Boeth. Holingah. Rapin.

vaders, if possible, exceeded the Danes in their ravages, for they plundered without mercy a great part of Leinster, and then destroyed the country with fire and sword.

The Danes hearing of the progress of these foreigners, fearing lest they should rob them of their conquests, and drive them out of the kingdom, either by their own power, or by joining with the natives, they gathered their forces together, which were dispersed through the kingdom, for the sake of plunder, and came to Jobh Niall, and offered battle to the Normans. The fight began briskly, and a dreadful slaughter followed on both sides; but victory declaring for the Danes, they pursued the Normans, from Inbher Nambark, where the battle was fought, along the banks of the Shannon to the sea-side. This unexpected success of the Danes, made them renew their ravages with greater fierceness, consuming to ashes Inis Cealtrach, Cluanmacnoise, and all the churches of Logh Eirne.

In the time of these public calamities, Feidhlim, king of Munster and archbishop of Cashel, having received some provocation from the northern half of the kingdom, entered that country, plundered the inhabitants from Birr to Tarah. Here he met with great opposition, which he at last overcame with much difficulty, losing in the engagement Johnrachtach, the son of Maolduin, a person of principal note. This ecclesiastical prince did not long survive his victories, for he died soon after, having reigned twenty-seven years. The Ulster annals, speaking of this prince's death, say, "the most excellent and wise anchoret of the Scots departed this life." In the same year, Olchorbhair, abbot of Imly, a man ambitious and fond of power, got himself elected king of Cashel.

About the same time, Maolseachluin king of Meath, engaged the Danes at Casan Linge, and entirely defeated them, killing the Danish general Saxolb, with seven hundred of his men upon the spot. The kings of Munster and Leinster joined their forces, and attacking the Danes, slew twelve hundred of them, with their general the earl of Tamair, heir to the crown of Denmark, and gained a complete victory. The king of Munster gained another advantage over the Danes, near Cashel, killing

five hundred of them on the spot, and putting the rest to flight. The people of Tyrconnel attacked a large body of Danes, at Easruadh, and with success, killing most of them on the spot. Several other parts of the kingdom rose upon them, and with good success, destroying great numbers of the enemy; particularly, the king of Meath who attacking the Danes at Glasglean, gained a complete victory, with the slaughter of one thousand seven hundred of them.

Notwithstanding all these successes, the Danes were far from being dispirited; for being continually supplied with fresh recruits from their own country, they laid siege to Dublin, and at last took it sword in hand. They also erected forts in most parts of the kingdom, to secure their conquests, and keep the inhabitants in awe.

However Niall, after having chastised the people of Fearceall and Deabhna Eathra, engaged the Danes in a pitched battle, in which most of the enemy were slain upon the spot, and the king gained a complete victory.— But he did not long enjoy the fruits of it; for he was drowned in the river Callain, after the following manner: coming to the bank of the river aforesaid, with a great retinue, the waters whereof were risen to a great height, by the rains, he ordered a gentleman in his retinue to look for a ford, to pass the river. The gentleman no sooner attempted it, than he was washed off his horse; which the king perceiving, immediately ordered some of his guard to try to save him; but none of them seeming willing to hazard their lives, the king generously rode up to the brink of the river, in order to jump in, to save the life of his guide, but the ground being undermined by the violence of the current, it broke under his horse's feet, and the king perished in the attempt.

A. D. } 153. Turgesius, the Norwegian, upon the un-  
866. } fortunate death of Niall, seized upon the government, being elected monarch by the Danes, and reigned thirteen years. It was not in the power of the Irish to dispute his election; for the flower of their youth were destroyed in the wars with the Danes, who had miserably harassed the kingdom thirty-six years, under the conduct of this prince, so that they were at last obliged to submit to the conqueror, and acknowledge Turgesius for

their sovereign; others not able to bear the Danish yoke, retired into France, and other countries, among whom were vast numbers of learned men, who were kindly received by the emperor Charles the Bald; in a letter to which prince, Heric a monk of Auxerre says, "why do I speak of Ireland, that whole nation almost despising the danger of the sea, resort to our coasts with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the more famous abdicating their native soil, account themselves happy under your favour, as the servants of the wise Solomon."

Turgesius had no sooner mounted the throne, than he dispatched a messenger to Norway, for fresh supplies, which soon after landed on the western coast. With these fresh troops, he secured his conquests and then exercised the most unheard of tyranny over the Irish. He appointed a Danish king or lord in every cantred of land throughout the kingdom, and a captain in every territory; also he nominated an abbot in every monastery, and a Danish sergeant was fixed as the commanding officer in every village; and to complete the misery of the Irish, a Danish soldier was billeted upon ever house and cottage in the kingdom. These soldiers used the natives in a barbarous manner, by oftentimes destroying every thing in the house out of wantonness, and then beating the family in a cruel manner. He likewise imposed a heavy tax upon the vanquished, for every master of a family was obliged to pay yearly, an ounce of gold; and if through misfortune or poverty he was incapable to pay this tribute, he was punished with the loss of his nose. No lord or lady were permitted to wear any clothes but what had been left off by the Danes. They destroyed almost all monuments of learning, forbidding, under severe penalties, the Irish to teach their children to read, and to learn the use of arms, or exercise themselves in feats of activity or martial sports, lest they should one time or other reflect upon the bravery of their ancestors, and grow uneasy under the yoke of their task-masters.

Such was the miserable state of the Irish, that they despaired of ever recovering their liberty; but an unexpected affair happening, seconded by the resolution and policy of the king of Meath, brought about the most ex-



traordinary revolution in favour of the Irish, that is to be met with in any history. It is as follows.

Turgesius having erected a magnificent palace, near that of Maolseachluin's who governed the country of Meath, he would sometimes condescend to make a visit to this neighbouring prince, who had a daughter, a young lady, to whose charming beauty was joined the most agreeable behaviour. Turgesius, at this time was pretty aged, and being at an entertainment in the palace of Meath, where this princess sat at table, the old monarch was so enamoured with her beauty, that he demanded the princes of her father, promising that she should be his favourite mistress. The king of Meath not daring to incense Turgesius by a denial, very well knowing he would gratify his passion by violence, with great submission requested of the monarch, that since he was pleased to make choice of his daughter for a mistress, that he would not make it known in a public manner, in respect to the lady's character, which would suffer so much, that it would be impossible afterwards to dispose of her in marriage suitable to her quality; and therefore desired, that since his royal palace was at no great distance, he might be suffered to send to him the princes privately, to conceal it from the knowledge of the world. He also told Turgesius, that he would send along with the princess, fifteen of the most celebrated beauties that his small territories afforded. Turgesius agreeing to this, the night was appointed to crown his hopes, and give him possession of the princess, who was to be conducted with all possible secrecy into the royal apartments, and the young ladies were to be disposed of as the monarch directed.

About this time, Turgesius summoned the principal Danes, to meet him at Dublin, in order to consider of ways and means to fix himself the firmer on the throne. These affairs being settled to the monarch's satisfaction, he entertained his principal officers with a grand feast, at which, being heated with wine, he discovered his intrigue with the princes of Meath to fifteen of them, promising at the same time, that he would bestow a lady of consummate beauty, on each of them, if they were dispo-

sed for an act of gallantry. This offer of Turgesius was received gratefully by his officers, who set out with the monarch from Dublin, for his palace, where he kept his usual residence, to wait for the promised joys.

Maolleachluin having nothing farther from his thoughts, than to prostitute the princess, his daughter, resolved at once to secure her honor, and sacrifice Turgesius and his officers to the fury of their own lusts, and at the same time free his country from the Danish yoke, which was grown insupportable.\* Accordingly, he selected fifteen of the most resolute and beautiful youths in his territories, who had no beards, and ordered them to be habited like young ladies, with each a short sharp sword concealed under his gown, which they were to make use of, in securing the honor of the princess, when in the palace of Turgesius, by taking the monarch alive, and destroying the chiefs; he told them also, that he would be ready with a chosen body of troops to take advantage of the consternation the Danes would be in, from this sudden blow. He gave his orders with so much confidence of success, that the young gentlemen were impatient till they entered upon action.

Being thus resolved, the princess, attended by the supposed ladies, upon the night appointed, left her father's court; and when she arrived near that of Turgesius, she sent privately to acquaint him of her coming, which he received with inexpressible joy. He gave notice of it to his officers, who immediately retired to their chambers to expect their ladies, and lest they should terrify them, they laid aside their arms. Then the monarch sent one of his favourites to conduct the princess and her attendants to court. The princess no sooner arrived, than she was introduced into Turgesius's apartments, with the supposed young ladies, who received them with a kind of transport, especially the princess. The monarch, after embracing the princess with great tenderness, was conducting her into his private chamber, when the supposed ladies, instantly throwing open their loose gowns, drew their swords, and laying hold of Turgesius, threatened him with immediate death if he called for assistance,

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\* Psalter of Cashel

which so terrified him, that he submitted, and they immediately bound him; then destroying all they met, they entered the apartments of the officers, who were all unarmed, and put them to the sword.

By this time the king of Meath arrived under the walls of the palace or castle, with a chosen body of troops; and receiving the signal, he forced his way into the castle, and finished the work, putting all the Danes to the sword. When the fury of the Irish was abated, Maolseachluin entered the apartment where Turgesius lay bound; and upbraiding him with the many excessive cruelties, the many rapes and violences he had committed on the Irish ladies, and his repeated murders, he ordered him to be loaded with irons, and to be carried before him in triumph, to his palace of Meath, his troops having plundered the palace, where they got an incredible booty.

This sudden action, being soon spread over the kingdom, the Irish rose upon the Danes, and falling upon them unexpected, routed them in every part, killing vast numbers of them; and those who escaped the sword, and lived near the sea, retired to their ships, and set sail for Denmark, &c. the rest were obliged to submit to the imposition of the Irish princes. The king of Meath having kept Turgesius, for some time, in irons, to be a witness to the miseries of his countrymen, had an end put to his life, by order of the king, being thrown into Lough Annin, bound as he was, where he perished in the sight of vast crowds of people.

This surprising revolution, being happily completed, by the death of Turgesius and the expulsion of the Danes, the nobility and gentry met in convocation, to settle the government, and elect a monarch. They soon came to a resolution to place the crown upon the head of the king of Meath; their great deliverer, which was accordingly done, with great solemnity.

A. D. } 154. Maolseachluin I. the son of Maolruadh-  
879. } na, of the line of Heremon, being unanimously elected monarch, reigned sixteen years. This prince's reign was disturbed by the Norwegians, who came in a large fleet of ships, under the command of three brothers named Amelanus, Cyracus, and Imorus; and under pretence of being merchants, were received in a peaceable

manner by the Irish, into Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. Having brought a large quantity of arms in their ships, they soon found an opportunity to put them into the hands of their countrymen, who were suffered to remain in Ireland, after the death of Turgesius, the Irish being contented with only disarming them.

These foreigners were not long before they had an opportunity to discover their real intentions; for the Irish princes having enjoyed a few years of peace, immediately after renewed their antient quarrels, and would frequently employ them against their enemies, which, in process of time, made them become so formidable to the Irish, that they were obliged to own their power; oftentimes turning their eyes upon those whom they assisted to conquer, and so make a prey of the lands of the victor and the vanquished.

Soon after this success of the Norwegians, a considerable fleet of Danes, arrived on the coast of Leinster, and landing, plundered the city of Dublin, ravaging all the adjacent country in a terrible manner. The Norwegians, who were settled in the kingdom, hearing of their success, immediately called a council of war, and it was resolved to attack them, lest they should get a footing in the island, and by that means dispossess them of their settlements. Accordingly they drew a choice body of troops to Linnduachaill, where a dreadful battle began, between them and the invaders, in which the latter were victorious, with the slaughter of one thousand men, which they so well improved, that they gained the most considerable settlements in the country.

Not long after this victory of the Danes, Amelanus or Amhlaoibh, said to be the son of the king of Denmark, arrived in the kingdom, and taking the principal command of these foreigners, immediately put himself at the head of them, committing great ravages, and defeating the Irish in several engagements.

These repeated successes of the Danes, obliged Maol-seachluin to summon a parliament to meet at a place called Rath Aodh Mac Bric, to consider of ways and means to prevent the farther progress of the common enemy. Being met, they proposed an union between the several princes of the island, as being the only means

to make them powerful, and strike a terror into the enemy. This union, with much difficulty, was happily effected, by a religious person called Eatgna, eminent for his extraordinary piety.

Some time after this, the Danes fell upon Maolguala, who governed the province of Munster, and slew him with stones. But Maolseachluin soon made them pay for their treachery; for, engaging the Danes at Drom da Moighe, he gained a complete victory over them, with the slaughter of the greatest part of their forces. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, for he died soon after a natural death.

A. D. } 155. Hugh Fionnliath, the son of Niall Caille,  
895. } succeeded and reigned eighteen years. This prince married Maolmuire, a daughter to the king of Scotland. His reign, like that of his predecessor, was continually disturbed by the Danes. Amelanus the Dane, with a body of troops, fell upon Connor, the son of Donogh, who had the government of half the country of Meath, and slew him at a place called Cluan Joraird, with the greatest part of his forces. He then embarked a good number of troops for Scotland, and having committed unparalleled cruelties, returned to Ireland with a great booty.

In the sixth year of this monarch's reign, viz. nine hundred, died Alfred the Great, king of England, having reigned twenty-eight years, with various success. The Danes, who had miserably ravaged England, as well as Ireland, at last became so formidable, although this great prince had often defeated them, that in the year eight hundred and seventy-seven, landing a great army in the west of England, they marched directly to Chippenham, then one of the finest and strongest cities of the kingdom of Wessex, which they taking in a few days, so terrified the West-Saxons, as entirely to dispirit them.\* Some retreated into Wales, or beyond sea, whilst others went over to the Danes, swearing allegiance to them. In this revolt, Alfred was left alone with a few domestics, who, from duty and affection, were unwilling to desert him in adversity; but as they were chargeable to him, he dismissed them all, that he might the more conveniently

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\* *Rapin.*

shift for himself. In this extremity, he was forced to conceal himself, at a neatherd's, in the isle of Athlency in Somersetshire. Here Alfred lay concealed for some time, from his friends as well as enemies, without being known even by the neatherd's wife, who employed him about her little household affairs. This was a miserable condition for a prince; but God, who designed only to exercise his patience, did not leave him long in these circumstances, for in less than six months, the scene was surprisingly changed. This grand revolution was brought about in the following manner.

Hubba, one of the bravest men of his time, being commander of the Danish troops, in the absence of his brother the king of Denmark, had invaded Wales, destroying all before him, with fire and sword; and he afterwards with the same view, entered Devonshire. At his approach the earl of Devon, with a handful of brave fellows, retired into Kinwith castle, to avoid the first shock of the Danish fury; and Hubba soon besieged the castle, confident that the garrison being small, would in a little time be obliged to surrender. The earl of Devon finding all the defence he could make, would be to no purpose, laid before the besieged the danger they were in of being exposed to the fury of their merciless enemies, assuring them they had but one way to escape, by opening a passage with their swords, through the enemy's army. He told them, that undoubtedly the Danes were negligent and secure, regarding them only as a handful of men pent up within walls; and that his proposal was far from being impracticable, provided they immediately put it in execution; and that after all, they only ventured their lives and liberties, which would be in much greater danger, by standing a siege. Upon this, the besieged, without deliberating on the matter, sallied out, sword in hand, upon the Danes, and put them into the greatest disorder; and this auspicious beginning inspired them with resolution to pursue their advantage. They pressed upon the Danes, with fresh vigour, not allowing them to recover out of their surprise; and having at length, entirely dispersed them, made a dreadful slaughter. Hubba was slain, and his famous standard named *Reafen* or the raven, was taken by the En-

glish. The Danes imagined there was a secret virtue in this standard, which Hubba's sisters had wrought with their own hands. By means of a strong fancy, or the delusion of the devil, they thought they saw this raven, before a battle, clap his wings, as an omen of victory, or hang down his head, as a presage of their defeat. This at least is related by the historians, who add, that the loss of their standard did not a little dispirit them.

The news of this defeat and the death of Hubba having reached Alfred, at the next's heard, he directly projected, how to make the best use of this fortunate blow. He discovered to his friends where he was, that they might come and consult with him, about proper measures at this juncture; and having conferred with them, he ordered them to muster together, in several parts of the kingdom, small bodies of troops, that, in a minute's warning, might be ready to join one another. The most critical, as well as important point was, to have exact intelligence of the posture of the enemy, that suitable steps might be taken accordingly. Alfred at a loss for a fit person to engage in this necessary work, took the boldest resolution that ever entered into the mind of a prince, viz: to go in person, into the Danish camp to be informed, by his own eyes, of the state of the enemy. Having disguised himself, with a harp in his hand, as if he got his living by playing on that instrument, he entered the Danish camp, staying there several days to make useful observations, to the utmost of his power. Among other things, he found, that they had not, as usual encamped on a hill, nor were there any advanced guards, to secure the avenues to their camp, having nothing to fear, as the enemy had not an army in the field. When he had made these discoveries, he returned to his friends at Athelney, and appointed Selwood forest in Somersetshire, for the general rendezvous of all his troops. This affair was managed with such secrecy and expedition, that, in a little time, the king appeared at the head of an army, before the Danes had any apprehensions of his design; and they were in the greatest consternation, to behold, on a sudden, the English army advancing to attack them. Alfred was unwilling to let them recover out of their surprise; and, therefore, exhorting his troops, in a few words, not in the

least to dread an army already vanquished by their own fears, gave the signal of battle. The Danes, however, made a brave defence; but, whether they had not leisure to draw up their troops in order, or whether the loss of their standard had possessed them with a notion, that their gods had abandoned them, they were at length entirely routed, and the greatest part of their army cut to pieces. The small number of forces, that escaped, retreated to a castle, where they were immediately besieged. Alfred pressed them so vigorously, that they were soon obliged to capitulate, though on more advantageous terms than they could have expected, in their present condition; for he agreed to resign the lands of East Anglia to those that would embrace christianity, requiring the rest directly to take their last leave of England, and give hostages for the performance of articles. Guthurn, governor of East Anglia, who, since Hubba's death, commanded the Danish army, acceding to these conditions, came to Alfred with thirty of his chief officers after he had shipped off all those that refused baptism.

This signal victory crowned Alfred's wishes, having by it almost entirely expelled the Danes, and regained his kingdom; his subjects, whom fear had dispersed or prevailed on to submit to the enemy, daily returning to their allegiance. Yet, after this, he received some disturbance from the Danes, but having the good fortune always to defeat them, he at last had the satisfaction to see peace and tranquillity entirely restored, which continued for twelve years. In this interval, this truly great prince, employed his power for the good of his subjects; and as the laws during the wars, were not only very much disregarded, but almost unknown to the people, he was industrious for some time, in making a collection of the best he could meet with; in which he inserted several of the judicial laws of the old testament, with the ten commandments at their head, and a great number of those formerly enacted by Ina, king of the West Saxons and Offa king of Mercia. To these he added many of his own, adapted to their present circumstances; and we may observe, in all his laws, an ardent zeal for justice, and a sincere desire of totally suppressing all violence. They were mild, indeed, compared with those of latter ages, as most offen-



ces were punished by mulcts and fines; but Alfred's strict execution of them counterbalanced their lenity.— If, with respect to private persons, the rigour of the law was somewhat abated, the case was otherwise, with regard to corrupt magistrates, to whom Alfred was ever inexorable; for he very well knew, that it would be in vain to expect obedience from his subjects, if the magistrates gave them a bad example. Within the compass of a year, he is said to have taken away the lives of forty-four judges, for not doing justice.

These proceedings seemed to be sufficient, to prevent oppression; but as Alfred was very sensible, that an oppressing spirit naturally grew upon men in authority, he ordered, that, in all criminal actions, twelve men chosen for that purpose, should determine the matter, and that the judge should pronounce sentence according to their verdict. This privilege, which the subjects of Great Britain enjoy to this day, is, doubtless, the noblest and most valuable, that can be possessed by any people. It was this great prince that divided England into shires or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings; and upon this all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to some tything; otherwise they were looked upon as vagabonds, and as such, denied the protection of the law. In fine, he did every thing that was worthy of a great prince; for having secured the kingdom from invasions, and introduced trade and commerce, he invited learned men from abroad, among whom was the famous Johannes Scotus, surnamed Eri-gena, i. e. the Irishman, to whom he gave pensions, dispersing them in the several dioceses, to instruct the people, arts and sciences being almost entirely banished from the land, by the wars. In eight hundred and eighty-six, being particularly desirous of having in his own kingdom a seminary of learning, he founded four schools or colleges, in Oxford, where Johannes Scotus first taught geometry and astronomy. From these small beginnings, the university of Oxford, now famous all over Europe, grew up to its present height.

Many more particulars might be added to the character of this illustrious monarch, but I have already ex-

ceeded the bounds of my design; I shall, therefore, conclude his character with the words of a great man: "O, Alfred, the wonder of all ages! If we reflect on his devotion, one would think he always lived in a cloister; if on his conduct and exploits in the field, he seems to have spent his days in a camp; if on his writings and studies, one would conclude the university had taken up all his time; and, lastly, from his prudence and skill in the administration of public affairs, that he made law and politics the main business of his life."

I have been something particular in the account of this great prince, because such an instance of true greatness, is rarely to be met with in history; and also, that the English view, with pleasure, in his wise regulations, the origin of those laws they so happily live under at this day. But to return to the affairs of Ireland.

Hugh Fionhliath, the monarch, having raised an army to oppose the Danes, and coming up with them at Lough Feobhail, a dreadful battle ensued, in which twelve hundred of the enemy were slain upon the spot, with most of the principal officers, and Hugh gained a complete victory. The monarch encouraged with this success, immediately laid siege to the place where the Danes had lodged the principal plunder of the country; and taking it in a short time, he recovered a considerable booty.

About this time, the palace of Amelanus, the principal Dane, was set on fire, by a party of Irish and consumed to ashes; and in the confusion, one hundred of the principal Danes were slain. Amelanus, to be revenged, laid an ambuscade, by which means he surprised a body of two thousand Irish, who were either killed or taken prisoners. This victory inspiring the Danes with fresh courage, they immediately marched to Armagh, which they plundered, with the adjacent country; and when they had raged with all the fury of an incensed enemy, they carried off very valuable spoils.

Near the time I have been speaking of, Lorchan Mac Lachtna was fixed in the possession of the crown of Thomond: The tribe of the Dalgais inhabited this country, and their territories extended to the walls of Cashel, having twelve cantreds in their division, which reached from Leim Congullam to Beallach More in the country of Os-

sory, and from mount Eachty to mount Eibhline. This was a brave and martial clan, who, it is said, always chose to be in the front of the Munster forces, where they distinguished themselves with uncommon bravery, when in battle; and in the rear, upon their march homewards.\*

Hugh, the monarch, soon after this, died a natural death, at Druim, Jonasglan in Crioich Conuill.

A. D. } 156. Flan Sionna, the son of Maolseachluin I,  
913. } succeeded, and reigned thirty-eight years.

This prince met with many disturbances in his reign; for the union of the Irish princes being broke, he found it necessary, at the beginning of his reign, to raise a numerous army, and invade the province of Munster. The Munster forces not being able to oppose such a great army, the whole province was exposed to the fury of the invaders, so having miserably plundered the country, he carried numbers of the inhabitants into captivity.

The Danes continuing still their depredations, plundered Cluain Joraird and Kildare, and committed shocking cruelties. The king of Ulster being slain by his own subjects, it occasioned such disturbances in the province, that the Danes taking advantage of it, entered Armagh and plundered the country. In this expedition, they surprised Cumasgach king of Ulster, and his son Hugh; and made them both prisoners.

In the reign of this monarch, Cormac Mac Cuillenan had fixed himself in the government of Munster, and reigned seven years over that province, with great conduct and moderation. In his time there was settled peace all over the island; for the Irish princes having a second time agreed to a union, the unsettled Danes all of a sudden went off to ravage some other country, lest, by this union of the princes, they should be forced out of the island. As for the Danes who were settled in the kingdom, they remained very quiet, lest they should be forced out of their settlement.

In this state of tranquillity, Cormac, who was archbishop of Cashel, as well as king of Munster, was advised by the nobility of the kingdom, to raise a numerous army and invade the province of Leinster, to demand a tribute

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\* Psalter of Cashel.

or chief-rent from the inhabitants, that province being a part of Leath Modha, according to the division of the island between Modah, Nuagat and Conn Ceadchathach. This enterprise was not agreeable to the king, who was unwilling to disturb the peace the whole island so happily enjoyed; but being continually pressed by the abbot of Iniscathy, an ambitious man, he, at last, raised a considerable army, and advanced towards the borders of Leinster accompanied by the abbot of Iniscathy. But before he entered the province, he made his will, and nominated the king of Thomond for his successor, being under some apprehension, that this enterprise would prove fatal to him; he then sent an herald to the king of Leinster, to demand a yearly tribute, as a testimony of subjection, and in case of refusal to declare war. While the herald was at the court of the king of Leinster, an accident happened that very much weakened the Munster army: for the abbot of Iniscathy, riding through the camp to take a view of the army, his horse being frightened, fell into a deep ditch with his rider on his back, which the soldiers taking to be a bad omen, vast numbers of them deserted the camp and returned home.

The herald returning to the camp, brought with him ambassadors from the king of Leinster, who had a commission to conclude a suspension of arms for some months, till the difference between the two kings could be amicably adjusted; and this proposal was backed with magnificent presents to the king and the abbot, who had a great ascendant over Cormac. The king, who was inclined to peace, readily agreed to a negociation; but the abbot, who was of an imperious temper, and averse to an accommodation, was for immediately entering upon action; nay, he was so insolent as to tell the king, who was for preventing bloodshed, in an audience of the Leinster ambassadors, that the paleness of his face evidently betrayed his want of courage. Cormac, however, thought fit to overlook the affront and only replied mildly, that his aversion to the war was not the effect of fear, but proceeded from the sense he had of the consequences that would attend it, being convinced that it would be fatal to him; "for, says he, I am persuaded that I shall

not survive the first battle; and, perhaps, your rashness and precipitancy will likewise prove your destruction."

After this conversation with the abbot, the king retired to his tent, where he employed what time he had to spare from public business, in preparing for death. He then broke up his camp, and marched his army to a place called Magh Ailbhe, attended by a great number of clergy, where he encamped by the side of a wood, expecting the enemy. After fortifying his camp, he divided his army into three bodies, the first was commanded by the abbot of Iniscathy, whose name was Flathbheartach Mac Jonmuinein, and of the blood royal of Munster, and the king of Ossory; the second by Cormac himself, and the third by the king of the Deisies. Here the army of the king of Leinster, who was assisted by the monarch of Ireland with a large body of troops, advanced to attack the king of Munster's forces, and began the fight with such irresistible fury, that the Munster forces not being able to bear the first shock, immediately fled, and vast numbers of them were slain in the pursuit. It is said, that the loss of this battle was owing to the two following causes, viz. Ceilliochair, brother to a former king of Munster, being averse from the beginning, to the prosecution of this war, addressed himself to the soldiers to save themselves by flight, for if they did not, they would certainly be all cut to pieces; and clappings spurs to his horse, galloped out of the field, which so dispirited them, that they threw down their arms and fled. The other was the cowardice of Ceallach Mac Carrol, who had a principal command in the army, being amazed at the dreadful slaughter of his men, rode out of the field with full speed, ordering his men to provide for themselves. A third reason may be also assigned for this general defeat, which is, that the army of Leinster was five to one of that of Munster.

It is said that the king of Munster behaved with great bravery, exposing himself in the front of the battle; but in the rout his horse falling into a pit, he was flung on the ground with great violence, which bruised him so much, that he was scarce able to rise. Being discovered by some of his troops in their flight, they remounted the king upon a fresh horse, and left him to provide for him-

self. The king, soon after this, seeing one of his favourites, whose name was Hugh, whom he much esteemed for his learning and other accomplishments, making towards him, he ordered him to provide for his own safety, and not to venture himself in his company, for he was sensible the enemy would give no quarter. It was with some difficulty that this gentleman obeyed the orders of his royal master; and he had no sooner left the king, than Cormac's horse attempting to climb an ascent that was exceeding slippery with the blood of the slain, made a false step and tumbled with the king down the hill, by which accident his neck and back-bone were broke, so that he died on the spot. This unfortunate prince, was a person of exemplary life and consummate piety. He wrote the Psalter of Cashel and built the cathedral of Cashel.

In this battle several of the principal gentry of Munster lost their lives, among whom were the king of Ossory, the king of Kerry, Oilioll Mac Eogan, and Colman abbot of Cinneity, who was lord chief justice of Ireland, with six thousand men.

Flann Sionna, the monarch of Ireland, after this victory, marched into Ossory, to place Diarmuidh Mac Carrol upon the throne of that petty kingdom, in the room of his brother, who was a tributary prince to the king of Munster. Here it was that some of his soldiers came to him with the head of Cormac, having found his body among the dead, and laid it at his feet, expecting a reward. But the monarch having a natural aversion to cruelty, ordered them out of his presence, and then wept over the head of Cormac; lamenting the instability of human greatness, and the untimely fate of so religious a prince and venerable a prelate. He then ordered his body to be searched for, which being found, was given into the care of Maonach, one remarkable for his learning and piety, who removed it, with great solemnity to Disert Diarmude, where it was interred suitable to his character.

Flan Sionna having fixed Diarmudh in the possession of Ossory, and reconciled some small disputes that arose between that prince and his brothers, returned to his palace, after having received the most grateful acknowledgments from the king of Leinster, who likewise return-

ed home, leading in triumph the abbot of Iniscathy, with several others, who was the author of this rash and unnecessary war. The clergy of Leinster were so incensed against the abbot, that he remained in close confinement during the life of Carrol.

About a year after the decease of the king of Leinster, the abbot of Iniscathy being released from his confinement, the abbess of St. Bridget, was so concerned for the safety of his person, that she prevailed with several of the most religious of the clergy, to procure a guard for him till he arrived in Munster to secure him from the insults of an enraged people; which was accordingly done, and he retired to his abbey of Iniscathy, where he continued for some time with great devotion, till the death of Dubhlachtna king of Munster, who succeeded Cormac, when he was brought from his retirement, to administer the government of that province, which he held for many years, with great applause; and notwithstanding his ill conduct in the invasion of Leinster, it is said that he proved a good prince, and was possessed not only of the command but the affections of his people.

Flan Sionna died a natural death, having had several years of peace, a happiness that many of his predecessors were strangers to.

A. D. } 157. Niall Glandabh the son of Hugh Fionnli-  
951. } ath, succeeded, and reigned three years. This prince's reign was disturbed by the Danes, who landing in Ulster, Niall engaged them in a pitched battle, at Logh da Chauch, and gained a complete victory, but he lost most of his best troops. Soon after this, the inhabitants of Leinster engaged the Danes at Ceannfuaid, but they had the misfortune to be defeated, with the loss of six hundred men killed on the spot, among whom were the king of East Liffey, the king of Comanns and Leix, and several other principal officers.

The Danes making another descent upon the island, with a numerous army, and after committing their usual ravages, they laid siege to Dublin, and took it sword in hand. These Danes were under the conduct of Sitrich and the sons of Jomhair, experienced commanders. Niall at the progress of the Danes, collected all the forces of Leath Cuinn, with the utmost expedition, and gave them

battle; but the Danes flushed with their late success, fell upon the Irish with such fury, that they fled in great confusion, which occasioned a general defeat. In this unfortunate battle, fell Niall, monarch of Ireland, Connor Mac Maolseachluin, prince of Ireland, Hugh king of Ulster, with many others of the nobility of Ireland.

A. D. } 158. Donough I. the son of Flan Sionna, succeeded, and reigned thirty years. This prince's reign was remarkable for many extraordinary transactions.

In his time Ceallachan, the son of Buadhachain, but more commonly known by the name of Ceallachan Cashel, governed the two provinces of Munster for ten years. But he met with some opposition with regard to his succession in that throne; for Kennedy Mac Lorcan, a prince of great interest, laying claim to the succession, came as far as Gleanamhuin with a numerous retinue, to treat with the nobility of the provinces, the throne being vacant at that time, and his proposals were near taking effect. The mother of Ceallachan, a lady of great prudence, and much esteemed by the people, fearing her son should be excluded, and Kennedy proclaimed king, boldly addressed herself to Kennedy, and expostulated with him about the injustice of his design, as being contrary to the will of Oilliol Olum. Her reasons had such an effect upon Kennedy, that he immediately relinquished his pretensions, and returned home. Upon this Ceallachan was acknowledged king of Munster. He was no sooner settled in the government, than he exerted himself in driving the Danes out of his dominions, and his bravery and resolution met with such success, that he defeated them in several battles, and drove them out of their settlements.

The Danes despairing of ever regaining their possessions in Munster, by force, had recourse to stratagem. Sitrich, who was now chief commander of the Danes, sent a messenger to Ceallachan, to acquaint him of his sincere intentions to peace, and to establish a good understanding and correspondence between them. And to make the union the firmer, he offered his sister in marriage to the king of Munster, who was a lady of extraordinary beauty and fine accomplishments. And lastly, to conclude a league offensive and defensive, and accordingly proposed to deliver hostages, for the performance



of articles. Ceallachan immediately agreed to these proposals, and accordingly made great preparations to espouse Sitrich's sister, who was a princess by birth. He intended to take the flower of his army along with him, to conduct the princess into his province; but the bad consequences that might attend leaving the province without its best forces, being represented in a lively manner by Kennedy to the king, he contented himself with being attended by the prince Dunchuan, the son of Kennedy, and his body guards. With this retinue, Ceallachan set out for Dublin, where Sitrich kept his court.

The wife of Sitrich, who was an Irish lady, hearing that the king of Munster was upon the road to marry her sister-in-law, told her husband, that she was strangely surprised he would bestow his sister upon a prince who was an avowed enemy to the Danish name, and who had lately given such convincing proofs of it, by destroying several of the principal nobility of the Danes, and obliging the rest to quit the kingdom. Sitrich replied, that he did not intend to give his sister to an enemy; but that he made use of this stratagem, to put Ceallachan into his power, whom he was resolved to sacrifice to the manes of his slaughtered friends. It is said that Sitrich acquainted the monarch of Ireland of his design, who approved of it, because the king of Munster had refused to pay him the usual tribute.

This declaration of Sitrich, struck his wife with the greatest astonishment; who having conceived a passion for Ceallachan, resolved to inform him herself of the design upon his life, before he was in the power of his enemy. Accordingly the next morning early, she went out disguised, to meet the king of Munster, who was come within a mile of Dublin. Here she discovered herself to Ceallachan, and informed him of the conspiracy against his life, advising him at the same time to return to his province with all speed. As soon as the king had recovered from his surprise, which this relation put him into, taking his leave of the lady, he immediately set out on his return home; but Sitrich had taken care to prevent his retreat, for he had lined the hedges with Danes, who sallied forth and attacked the king's guards; and after a bloody action, in which they were almost cut to pieces,

the king of Munster and Dunchuan the son of Kennedy, were taken prisoners, and carried to Dublin, where they remained a short time; and from thence they were conducted under a strong guard to Ardmagh, where they were closely confined.

Those of the king's guards who escaped by flight, upon their arrival in Munster, informed Kennedy, who was regent in Ceallachan's absence, of the treachery of Sitrich, and the imprisonment of the king and Dunchuan. Kennedy was so exasperated at the treachery of the Danes, that he immediately ordered the provincial forces to be got together, being resolved, at all hazards, to free the king and his son from confinement.

The regent having completed his troops, he gave the principal command of the army to Donough Mac Keefe king of Foarmoihe, an experienced general. He also equipped a good fleet, and gave the command of it to the brave admiral Failbhe Fionn, king of Desmond. The army of Munster continually increasing, by the vast numbers of succours that arrived from all parts of the two provinces of Munster, Kennedy gave orders to the army to march and the fleet to sail. The army took the route of Connaught, and in their march plundered the inhabitants in a cruel manner; which so enraged Mortough, the son of Arnalaig, a prince of that country, that he came to the general and demanded that he would restore the plunder his soldiers had taken from the inhabitants, who were unconcerned in the quarrel. The general replied, that if any thing remained after supplying the necessities of his army, it should be returned. This answer not satisfying Mortough, he resolved upon revenge; and, therefore, he immediately dispatched messengers to the Danes at Ardmagh, to inform them of the march of the Munster forces who were determined to rescue the king at all hazards.

The Danes had no sooner received this intelligence, than they drew out their forces from Ardmagh, in order to give the Munster army battle; but Sitrich being informed of the strength of the Irish, put his forces aboard his fleet, and Ceallachan and Dunchuan aboard his own ship, which lay near Dundalk, he not caring to venture a battle.

Donough having received intelligence of the Danes, retreat to their ships, and carrying the king with them,

was so enraged at the disappointment, that he immediately marched to Dundalk, destroying all the Danes he met in his way.

Here the Munster forces stood on the shore, in sight of the Danish fleet, distracted at the fate of their king, gazing on one another, till at length, they espied the Munster fleet sailing with a brisk gale of wind to attack the Danes. The admiral having drawn up his ships in line of battle, attacked the Danish fleet with such bravery and resolution, that the Danes were in the utmost confusion, not expecting to be attacked by sea. The admiral taking advantage of the disorder of the enemy, immediately boarded the Danish admiral, in which were Sitrich and his two brothers Tor and Magnus. The Irish behaved with great bravery, so that the Danes with much difficulty bore the first shock of their fury, but at length, the admiral discovering the king of Munster, bound to the mainmast, summoned all his resolution, and attacking the Danes again with fresh vigour, made a passage up to the king, with his sword, and cutting the cords with which he was bound, he set him at liberty; he then put a sword in his hand, and entreated him to take the command of the ship he had left, which Ceallachan readily agreed to, and accordingly went on board.

Faillbhe Fionn the admiral, staid on board the Danish admiral, in hopes of finishing the work he had so bravely begun; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, he was slain bravely fighting at the head of his men. Sitrich and his brothers behaved with great courage and resolution, knowing that the loss of this ship would occasion the ruin of the whole fleet, their choicest troops being on board her. But by some acts of desperate courage, rarely to be met with in history, the Irish at last prevailed.

Fiongall, a brave commander among the Irish, seeing the admiral fall, resolved to revenge his death, and falling on the Danes with incredible bravery, he slew many of them; but the Danes being continually supplied with fresh men, the fight was sharp and bloody. At length, Fiongall, despairing of keeping possession of the Danish admiral, and being ashamed to retire to his own ship, he took one of the most desperate resolutions to be reveng-

ed, that ever entered into the heart of man; for catching up Sitrich in his arms, he jumped overboard with him, where they instantly perished.

Seadga and Conall, captains of singular courage, resolving to equal Fiongall in his desperate bravery, and if possible, to put an end to the dispute, fell on the Danes with redoubled fury, and cutting a passage with their swords, they came up to Tor and Magnas, the two brothers of Sitrich, whom they immediately caught in their arms and jumped overboard with them, where they likewise perished.

The Danes were in the utmost confusion at these desperate exploits of the Irish, that had deprived them of their best generals; which the Irish no sooner perceived, than they with fresh vigour attacked the Danes, boarding most of their ships, and fought them for some hours, destroying all in their way, till at length, the Danes were entirely defeated.

The Irish fleet having cleared the coasts of the Danes, came into harbour to refresh themselves, after so desperate a fight; and putting the king ashore, he was received with loud acclamations of joy by his army, who were spectators of the bravery of the Irish seamen, and at the same time in the utmost distraction, that they could not assist their countrymen.

Ceallachan had no sooner provided for the necessities of his fleet, and taken care of the wounded men, than he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards Munster. Mortough Mac Flan, the king of Leinster, hearing that the king of Munster intended to march his army through his country, resolved to oppose him; and therefore, mustering his forces together, he placed his troops so as to harass the Munster forces in their march, and if possible to cut off their retreat. But Ceallachan having private intelligence of the designs of this prince, and knowing he was a great friend to the Danes, prepared to give him a warm reception; and being very much exasperated at the perfidiousness of the king of Leinster, gave orders to his soldiers to give no quarter to the Leinster forces, but the Danes he ordered to be used as the law of nations directed. This distinction being carried by deserters, to the king of Leinster, he immediately

withdrew his forces, and Ceallachan and his army marched into Munster, without any opposition.

Ceallachan having settled himself again in the throne of Munster, made great preparations to attack the Danes, and drive them entirely out of his territories. When his troops were complete, he fell upon the Danes unexpectedly about Limerick, and killing five hundred of them, took the rest prisoners. After this success, he marched towards Cashel, and plundered the country, where they met with five hundred Danes whom they put to the sword. One Sitrich, who was general of these foreigners, resolving to recover the booty from the Munster forces, attacked them briskly; but he was soon obliged to retire to his shipping, with the loss of five hundred of his men, who were killed on the spot.

Soon after this success, the king of Munster with his victorious army, went to pay a visit to Daniel O Faolan, king of the Deisies, with whom he entered into strict friendship, by giving him his sister in marriage, whose name was Gromflath, to that prince, a lady of distinguished merit. Ceallachan soon after the marriage of his sister, died without violence, much lamented by his subjects.

He was succeeded by Feargna, the son of Ailgeanan, who enjoyed the government but two years; for he was assassinated by some of his relations.

Mahon, the son of Kennedy, upon the assassination of Feargna, seized the throne of Munster, and reigned twelve years. His brother Eichiaruinn possessed the government of Thomond at the same time; and another brother whose name was Bryan, a prince of distinguished bravery, had a principal command in the army of Munster. Mahon resolving to give the Danes no rest, with his brother Bryan, gave them battle at Sulchoid; in which bloody engagement two thousand of the Danes were killed on the spot, with their principal commanders, who were Teitil, a person of great strength and governor of Waterford, Ruanon governor of Corke, Muris governor of Limerick; Bernard and Toroll. The remains of the Danish army retreated to Limerick, where the Irish army pursued them, and entering the city along with them, made a terrible slaughter of the Danes. Mahon having given the plunder of the city to his soldiers, where they got an im-

mense booty, it was immediately set on fire, and burnt to ashes. Soon after this signal victory, this brave prince was seized by some conspirators in his own palace, and conveyed away to Meills Mac Broin king of Oneachah, where he was barbarously put to death by the people of that country, although St. Collum Mac Ciagain solicited for his life.

**Donough, the monarch of Ireland, about this time invaded the province of Connaught, and was defeated near Athlone, with the loss of several persons of distinction.**

Soon after this, the Danes entered Cluainmacnoise and plundered it; and then proceeded to Loch Ribh, where they committed dreadful ravages, destroying all the adjacent country on both sides. They likewise carried on their ravages to Inis Ein, which they spoiled, and meeting with a body of one thousand and two hundred Irish, who made head against them, cut them all to pieces. But the Danes soon after this, lost as many in Loch Rughruidh. However, they succeeded in most of their attempts; for what they did not gain by force of arms, they got by treachery; by the latter the Danes of Dublin surprised Faolan, king of Leinster, and his children, whom they made prisoners. The Danes of Loch Cuain also, with great cruelty, plundered Dun Sobairce; and the country of Kildare was likewise miserably distressed by those of Waterford.

The inhabitants of Ulster, alarmed at the continual successes of the Danes, raised a considerable army and gave the command of it to Mortough Mac Neill, an experienced general, who attacked the Danes with such bravery and resolution, that eight thousand of them were killed upon the spot, with three of their bravest commanders. This victory had such an effect, that the whole kingdom immediately felt the benefit; for the Danes were so dispirited at the loss of their generals, that they ceased their ravages, and the Irish enjoyed a tranquillity they had been strangers to for many years.

But this tranquillity was soon after disturbed by the Danes, who marched with a numerous army from Limerick and Connought, under the conduct of Olfinn, a bold and enterprising general, to attack the fair of Roscrea, where they were sure of getting a considerable booty. The Irish who came to this fair, having a jealousy of the

quiet they had enjoyed for some time, brought arms with them. Upon the fair day, which was always the twenty-ninth of June, they received intelligence that the Danes were marching to attack them; they therefore threw themselves into such order as they were capable, firmly resolving to defend their goods with their lives. The Danes being arrived and drawn up in order of battle, the Irish traders fell on them with such bravery and resolution, that four thousand of the Danes were killed upon the spot, with their general, and the rest fled with the utmost precipitation.

About this time died Tieve king of Connaught, after a reign of twenty years; as did also Sitrich the son of Jomhair, who was king of the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland.

After this the people of Connaught attacking the Danes at Loch Oirbhíonn, defeated them with a great slaughter. This victory was followed by another; for Conuig Mac Neill falling upon them at Loch Neigh slew twelve hundred. But the Danes were soon revenged, for they plundered Loch Eirn, and the adjacent country, committing unparalleled cruelties. Ardmagh was also invaded by Godfrey, who commanded the Danes of Loch Cuain, and the country miserably ravaged. Cilcuilten, about the same time was spoiled by Ambrose the son of Godfrey, who destroyed the country with fire and sword, and carried off one thousand prisoners. Oilioch Neid likewise felt the fury of the Danes, who plundered it, and took prisoner the brave Mortough Mac Neill, whom they closely confined; but by a stratagem he soon after made his escape.

The people of Connaught made another attack upon the Danes, and killed Arolt Mac Jomhair, who was governor of Limerick for the Danes. And about the same time, Ambrose, who was king of the Danes in Ireland, was slain in a battle with the Normans, who had made a descent upon the Danish possessions.

About this time also, the Welch made a descent upon the kingdom, with a numerous army, under Roderick, a brave and experienced commander; but the Irish gave them such a warm reception, that in the fight, Roderick lost his life, and the greatest part of his army were cut in pieces.

Congall, the son of Maolmithig, likewise in his reign, laid siege to the city of Dublin, in the possession of the Danes, and took it by storm; and having put to the sword seven hundred and forty of the garrison, he gave the city to be plundered by his soldiers.

**Donough, the monarch of Ireland, at length, died a natural death.**

A. D. } 159. Congall the son of Maolmithig, of the  
984. } line of Heremon, upon the death of Donough, was elected monarch, and reigned ten years. This prince's reign was continually disturbed by the Danes; however the Irish defeated them in the battle of Muine Breogain, with the slaughter of seven thousand of their best forces. Although the Irish gained this victory, yet their troops suffered greatly.

In the fourth year of this monarch's reign, the great Bryen Boiromh entered upon the government of the two provinces of Munster. He had not been in possession of the crown above two years, when he sent a herald to challenge Meills Mac Broin king of Ouncachach, to a pitched battle in the plains of Beallach Lechta, on account of the barbarous murder of his brother Mahon king of Munster, as hath been related. Meills accepted the challenge, and accordingly raised a considerable army of Irish and Danes, and then marched to the place appointed. Here both armies engaged, and after a fierce and bloody battle, Bryen entirely defeated Meills, taking a vast number of the enemy prisoners.

This success of the king of Munster, raised a jealousy in Daniel O Faolian king of the Deisies, who resolved to revenge the slaughter of the Danish auxiliaries, upon Bryen. Accordingly he raised a great army of Irish and Danes, and entered the territories of Bryen, and committed horrid cruelties. The king of Munster receiving intelligence of this invasion, he immediately led his army to oppose their incursions, and overtook them plundering the country at Fan Conrach. Here he fell upon them with such bravery, that the Danes unable to bear the shock of his troops, fled with great disorder. The king of the Deisies troops finding themselves deserted by the Danes, fled also. The king of Munster pursuing the flying enemy, and entering the city of Waterford along with them, put all to the



sword, in the confusion of which, fell the king of the Deisies. The city was then given to be plundered; and when they had secured the booty, the town was set on fire and consumed to ashes.

Congal, the monarch of Ireland, began also to be jealous of the power of Bryen; and therefore, entered the province of Munster, with fire and sword, in which incursion, Eichiaruin and Dunchuan, brothers to Bryen, were slain. He did not long survive this act; for the Danes, who had miserably ravaged the country wherever they came, surprised him and put him to death at Ard-magh.

A. D. } 160. Daniel, grandson of Niall Glandubh,  
994. } succeeded, and reigned ten years. His reign, like that of his predecessor, was disturbed by the Danes, who, under the conduct of Humphrey, the son of Sitrich, plundered the country of Kildare, in a cruel manner.

In the second year of this prince's reign, Bryen, the king of Munster, grown formidable by his successes, obliged the country of Leath Modha to pay him tribute.— But upon the death of Daniel Claon king of Leinster, the subjects of that province, both Irish and Danes, refused to own his authority and pay him the usual tribute. Bryen, therefore, marched his invincible troops into the province of Leinster, to chastise them for their disobedience. The Leinster forces, consisting of Irish and Danes, immediately offered battle, at Gleann Mama, which began with great bravery and resolution on both sides; but at last the Leinster forces were obliged to give way to the army of Munster, who pressed so vigorously on them, that they were defeated with the loss of five thousand killed upon the spot.

After this, Bryen, with his victorious troops, besieged Limerick, inhabited by the Danes, and set it on fire about their ears. He also engaged the Danes of Iniscathe and defeated them, with the loss of eight hundred killed, and Jomhair, Humphrey, and Dubhgeann, their principal commanders were taken prisoners.

Daniel, the monarch, upon some provocation, entered the province of Connaught, committing great ravages, and carried off a number of prisoners. The forces of the province being in a very weak condition, Feargal O

Rourke king of Connaught, was obliged to let the enemy retire unmolested. Soon after this the king of Connaught was slain in a battle with Daniel, the son of Congall late monarch of Ireland.

This monarch also engaged Daniel Mac Congall, who was assisted by the Danes, in the battle of Cillmona, which concluded with a terrible slaughter on both sides. Among the slain were Ardgall the son of Madagau, who had governed the province of Ulster seventeen years, Donnagan the son of Maolmuirre, king of Orgiallach, and many other persons of distinction.

The Danes still continuing their incursions with a body of the Leinster forces, plundered Ceanannanus, and miserably distressed the inhabitants. They also, with the assistance of Cionoath O Hartagan, archbishop of Ardmagh surprised Ugaire the son of Tualtha, king of Leinster, and took him prisoner.

In this reign also, Daniel O Neill, who governed the province of Ulster, raised a formidable army, and entered the province of Leinster, plundering the country from the Barrow eastwards to the sea. And having encamped his army in the heart of the province, he remained there two months, notwithstanding the united forces of the Langonians and Danes endeavoured to dislodge him. Thus were the Irish princes ever tearing one another to pieces, instead of making head against the common enemy.

The reign of Daniel was also remarkable for the massacre of the Danes in England, in the year one thousand and two, on the thirteenth of November. For the Danes having overrun that kingdom, in the reign of Ethelred II. exercised such tyranny over the English, that they were called Lord-Danes, as they spent their time in revelling, whilst the English were obliged to labour incessantly, to satisfy their demands. Elgiva, Ethelred's queen dying, whilst the Danes were thus masters in England, the king demanded in marriage Emma, the sister of Richard II. duke of Normandy. This marriage being consummated, Ethelred was vastly elated, depending on the assistance of the duke his brother-in-law, whenever he should want it; and the prospect of his alliance led him to resolve on the cruel and violent expedient of get-

ting rid of the Danes, by a general massacre. To this purpose he issued orders, privately, over the kingdom, which were executed with such rigour, that, in one day, most of the Danes were butchered with implacable barbarity, the particulars of which are too horrid to relate. The king of Denmark's sister, who was married to an English lord, having been spared, Ethelred was so inhuman as to order her to be beheaded, after her children had been slain before her face; but the cruel treatment of this princess, who embraced death with an heroic bravery, was soon ~~after~~ severely revenged.

Among other acts of barbarity practised in this massacre, was the placing the Danish women in holes in the earth, as deep as their waists, and causing them to be worried, and their breasts torn off by mastiff dogs.

This bloody tragedy very much resembled the massacre of the Romans by the Britons, under Boadicea, and was attended with the same fatal consequences; and the English, as well as the old Britons, were so far from recovering their liberty by these means, that they only made their yoke the more heavy and intolerable. Although the historians assure us, that all the Danes in England were massacred at this time; yet it is not easy to apprehend, how this could be brought about in Northumberland and East-Anglia, where they were more numerous than the English. It is, therefore, most probable, that, by all the Danes, we should understand only those lately settled in England, who were dispersed in Wessex and Mercia.

Ethelred flattered himself that these bloody proceedings, by which so many thousands lost their lives, could procure him peace. He imagined the Danes would never invade England again, and he hoped that if the desire of revenge should bring them thither, the English would think it necessary to shed the last drop of their blood to prevent falling into the hands of such incensed enemies. He also placed great confidence in the assistance of his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, whose interest it was to espouse his cause; but such a detestable piece of policy seldom produces the desired effects, or rather, generally terminates in the ruin of the projector.

Sweyn king of Denmark received the news of this massacre from some Danes, who escaped on board a ves-

sel, that lay ready to sail for Denmark. The account they gave of it, was abundantly sufficient to excite him to revenge; but when he heard the tragical story of his sister's death, in its cruel circumstances, he was, to the last degree, enraged. He took a solemn oath, that he would never rest, till he had revenged so barbarous an outrage. His second expedition into England, therefore, was not made with a view of plunder, but to destroy the whole kingdom with fire and sword. In the interim, as he did not question but Ethelred had taken all necessary measures for his own security, he did not judge it convenient to embark, before he was assured of a place, where he might safely land his troops. Cornwall was then governed by Hugh, a Norman, whom the queen had fixed in that post, as one in whom the king might entirely confide. Sweyn despatched a faithful messenger to this governor, to gain him over to his interest, by the proposal of a great reward; and Hugh fell in with the temptation, promising to admit the Danish fleet into his ports, and to suffer the troops to land, without any molestation.

Sweyn, upon this, fitted out a fleet of three hundred sail, and landing in Cornwall, with a powerful army, without opposition, he marched directly to Exeter. As this city had no apprehensions of being attacked, he easily subdued it; and having put the inhabitants to the sword, he reduced it to ashes. This first exploit was succeeded by several others equally fatal to England; for, wherever Sweyn carried his arms, he destroyed all before him. Towards the end of summer, being told, that Alfric, duke of Mercia, was on his march with a numerous army, to give him battle, he determined to meet him. But Ethelred acted very indiscreetly, in giving the command of his army to this lord, whom he had formerly banished his dominions, out of mere caprice, and whose son's eyes had been put out by his order; for the sense of this injury being fresh in the duke's mind, he was glad of the present opportunity to revenge it. No sooner therefore was he advanced, within view of the enemy, than he feigned sickness, by which he pretended he was rendered incapable of engaging, and ordered the army to retreat; but, at the same time, he took care, that it should be done in such disorder, that the Danes, without much difficulty,

put them to the rout. After this, Sweyn took several towns, from whence he carried off a prodigious booty; but having no design to keep them, he set them on fire, and passed the winter in Denmark.

The quiet England enjoyed, upon Sweyn's departure, was very short; for in the following spring he landed in East Anglia, and taking Norwich, consumed the whole town to ashes. Ulfketel, governor of East Anglia, being in no condition to withstand him, bribed him with a sum of money; but, upon the receipt of it, Sweyn violates the treaty, taking the town of Thetford, by surprise, then a place of great note, and treating it as he had done Norwich.

Ulfketel, exasperated at this breach of faith, levied some troops, with great expedition, posting himself between the Danish army and the fleet. Sweyn, apprehending that he intended to cut off his retreat to his ships, resolved to give him battle, before he should be reinforced; he found that the English were encamped in a very advantageous manner, resolutely determined to exert themselves, in defence of their lives and fortunes, which were now in such imminent danger from these incensed enemies. But such was the ill fortune of the English, that the Danes obtained a signal victory, though not without a considerable loss; for, according to their own confession, they were never in more danger of being defeated. Ulfketel, though of Danish extraction, being the most loyal as well as valiant of all Ethelred's subjects, did him the greatest service; for the historians are agreed, that Ethelred was betrayed by all that were about him, Sweyn having not only spies in his court, but even in his council. The great men were generally bribed; or, at least, scarce one of them served the king faithfully, by reason of the little respect they had for him. Whatever councils were called to deliberate on proper methods to oppose the Danes, the dissensions between the nobles, too frequent in the courts of princes so much despised, prevented them either from coming to any resolutions, or from putting them into execution. The avarice of the clergy, particularly the monks, exceedingly increased this general confusion, who, notwithstanding their vast riches, refused to contribute their quota for the safety of the kingdom, pleading their privileges and

immunities, as if they had no concern at all in the danger. It is no wonder, then, that the Danes were victorious, in a country so meanly defended by those who were under such obligations to provide for its preservation. The famine, which happened soon after, would have completed the misfortunes of England, had it not proved the occasion of Sweyn's returning to Denmark, for subsistence.

Upon the retreat of the Danes, and the ceasing of the famine, the English expected to enjoy some tranquillity; but the Danes soon returned, ravishing the country with their usual barbarity; till at length Sweyn, king of Denmark, made an entire conquest of all England, except the famous city of London; and, though he was not in a condition to lay siege, in form, to a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be so terrified, by his menaces, as to surrender; but, when he found himself disappointed, he contented himself with ravaging the south parts of Wessex, where there was none to oppose him. However, as he could not look upon his conquest as complete until he became master of London, he resolved at all events to attack it; but, whilst he was making the necessary preparations, he received information, that Ethelred had retreated from that city. This unhappy prince dreading to lie at the mercy of an enemy, whom he had so highly injured, and believing that he was not safe in London, retired into Normandy with all his family. The Londoners, being thus abandoned by their prince, came to a resolution of submitting to the king of Denmark, who as has been observed had already subdued the rest of the kingdom; whereupon Sweyn was proclaimed king of England, without the least opposition. But to returned to Ireland.

The Danes of Dublin having ravished part of Leinster, engaged the provincial troops at Boithlione, and gained a complete victory. In this battle U'gaire king of Leinster, was slain. Soon after this success of the Danes, Daniel the monarch died a natural death at Ardmagh.

I shall conclude this book, with some account of those persons most eminent in the Irish church for their extraordinary piety and learning, in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Albin, by reason of the ravages of the Danes in Ireland, travelled into France in company with Clement, where his learning and other accomplishments, gained him the esteem of Charles the Great, and the emperor founding two academies, one at Paris in France, the other at Pavia in Italy, he placed these two Irishmen in the government thereof, viz. Clement at Paris, and Albin at Pavia. Nor-ker Balbulbus, an old monk of St. Gall's convent, gives the following account of them, in his book of the affairs of Charles the Great, published from the Bavarian manuscript, by Canisius, in sixteen hundred and one. "The great Creator of all things, says he, who disposes of times and kingdoms, having broken to pieces the iron or earthy feet of that strange statue among the Romans, raised the golden head of one no less wonderful among the Franks, by the illustrious Charles, in the beginning of whose reign, learning being at a low ebb, almost quite lost in these western parts, it happened that two Scots of Ireland, landed with some British merchants on the coast of France, incomparably skilled in human and divine literature, about whom, when the people flocked, expecting to purchase somewhat; they told them that if any were desirous of wisdom they might buy of them, for they had it to sell, which they offered to sale, perceiving the people to undervalue what they might have without money or price, thereby to provoke them to buy wisdom with others things, or, as the event shewed, by such a declaration to raise their wonder and astonishment. In fine, they continued this way so long, till these matters were brought to the ears of king Charles, a great and ardent lover of wisdom; who demanding of them, being brought into his presence, whether their knowledge in wisdom were so extraordinary as reported, he was answered by them, that they had wisdom, and were ready in God's name to impart the same to as many as were worthy of it. The king then enquired of them what they asked to teach it, who answered, we look for nothing more than a convenient apartment, with meat and clothing, without which 'tis impossible to perform a pilgrimage: at which the king being very glad, at first entertained them as domestics, till being employed in warlike expeditions abroad, he commanded the one, named Clement,

to reside in France, to whose care he committed the youth of all ranks, both gentle and simple, and furnished them with suitable accommodations; but the other he sent to Italy, and bestowed on him the monastery of St. Augustine, near the city of Pavia, to instruct as many as resorted thither to hear him." Some of Albin's epistles and certain rhetorical rules are still extant. He died in St. Augustine's monastery at Pavia.

Clement, Albin's colleague, of whom I have spoken above, in the account of Albin, wrote several pieces in high esteem with the learned. Lupoldus Bebenburgius, who lived in thirteen hundred and forty, says of this Clement, that "the French may compare with the Romans and Athenians, by means of Clement an Irishman." Some of his writings, Buchanan says, were extant in his time.

Claude, a pious and learned man, lived in eight hundred and fifteen. He wrote a commentary on St. Matthew, also on St. Paul's Epistles, the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the Psalms; also historical memoirs, a summary, homilies, and the agreement of the evangelists.

Donough was eminent for his extraordinary piety and learning. Leaving Ireland with his colleague Andrew, he travelled into France and Italy, and was for some time an hermit in Tuscany; he was after elected bishop of Fiefole, which office he discharged with honor. It is said he wrote his own travels, the office of his church, and commentaries on the Holy Scriptures. He flourished in eight hundred and forty.

Andrew, archdeacon of Fiefole, and companion to Donough in all his travels, wrote the benefit of penance, the fruits of charity to his brethren clothed by him, the acts of his master Donough, and moral sayings.

Patrick, abbot of Ardmagh, wrote a book of homilies, and some epistles to the Irish. It is said, the invention of St. Patrick's purgatory in Lough Dirg was owing to him. He lived about eight hundred and forty-five, and died in the convent of Glastenbury in England.

Johannes Scotus, surnamed Erigena, i. e. Irishman, (Ireland being then called Erin) a man of a searching wit, and great eloquence, having applied himself from his infancy to letters, travelled to France, where Charles



the Bald received him at his court, and entertained him with great familiarity; as an instance of which we are told that the emperor, as he one day sate opposite to Scotus at table, asked him merrily, *Quid interest inter Scotum et sotum?* He replied, *Mensa tantum*, with which the emperor was not displeased. He was invited into England by Alfred the Great, in eight hundred and eighty-four. At first he was the king's preceptor in languages and the sciences; afterwards he was a professor at Oxford; and, from thence, in all probability, he was removed to Malmesbury, since it is said, that in this monastery, he was stabbed to death by his scholars. Before he left France, by the emperor's order, he engaged in the dispute concerning the nature of the eucharist. In his treatise on this subject, he strongly argues against Paschasius's doctrine, who maintained that the body of Christ, in the eucharist, was the same with that born of the Virgin Mary. He received the veneration of a saint and martyr, after his death; for Roger Hovedon affirms, that Scotus, at first, was buried in an obscure manner, but that, afterwards, a miraculous light shining over his grave, for several nights together, the monks of St. Lawrence removed his corpse into their church, and interred it close by the altar. Honorious says, "John Scotus, another Chrysostom, a famous scripturist, wrote in a very elegant style, of the nature of all things."

Suibny, the son of Mailchunai, an anchorite of Clonmacnoise, was famous for his learning and piety, being called in the Ulster Annals, the best scribe. He died in eight hundred and ninety-one.

Probus flourished in the tenth century, and wrote the life of St. Patrick in two books, which may be found in the third tome of Bede's works, to whom they are falsely ascribed.

Cele Comorban of Congal, called a scribe, anchorite, and apostolic doctor of all Ireland, was eminent for his learning and piety. He took a pilgrimage to Rome, and died there the fourteenth of September, nine hundred and twenty-eight, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

## BOOK VI.

*Containing the reigns of nine monarchs, till the invasion of the English under Henry II. Of eminent men in Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And, also, of the laws, customs, manners, &c. of the antient Irish.*

A. D. } 161. **MAOLSEACHLUIN II.** son of Daniel  
1004. } Mac Donough of the line of Heremon, upon the death of Daniel, was elected monarch, and reigned twenty-three years. The mother of this prince was Dunlath, daughter of the famous Mortough Mac Neill, who was also mother to the king of the Danes throughout Ireland.

This monarch had no sooner entered upon the government, than he resolved to attack the Danes, who were grown very formidable. Accordingly he engaged them at Tarah, where he entirely defeated them, killing five thousand upon the spot, among whom was Randel their king, a prince of extraordinary courage. Upon this success, being joined by Ardgal king of Ulster, he laid siege to the city of Dublin, in which was a strong garrison of Danes. Having invested the city three days, the monarch ordered a general assault to be given, which was executed with so much vigour and resolution, that they soon entered the city sword in hand. By this conquest the Danes were obliged to quit their possessions from the river Shannon to the sea eastwards, and to be tributaries to the Irish monarchs. Many prisoners of note among the Irish were released by the taking of this city, among whom were Daniel king of Leinster, and the hostages of O Neill.

Soon after this victory, Humphrey the son of Sitrich, retired to the island of Hy on the coast of Scotland, being forced out of Ireland by the Irish. And about the same time Maolseachluin having a quarrel with the famous tribe of Dailgais, entered their country with fire and sword, and destroyed Bile Moigh Hadair; but this outrage was sufficiently revenged some years after by Bryen king of Munster.

Glandeloch was, about this time, taken and plundered by the three sons of Carrol, of the tribe of Dailgais; but historians say, they were found dead the night after, as a judgment for destroying a place consecrated to divine uses.

The Danes having now received a powerful reinforcement from Denmark, immediately shook off the Irish yoke, and began their usual ravages, plundering Dounach Patrick with great cruelty, under the command of Mortough O Congallach. But this breach of faith in the Danes, the historians say, was punished by heaven; for they were immediately visited with a sickness, which destroyed vast numbers of them.

Upon this sudden insurrection of the Danes, Maolfeachluin reassembled his forces and engaged them in two battles with signal success, encountering Tomor and Carolus, two of their most distinguished champions hand to hand, and as a trophy of victory took from the first a collar of gold which he wore about his neck, and from the second his sword.

Notwithstanding these successes, the Danes being constantly supplied with fresh succours, still carried on their ravages; and at last so intimidated the princes of the island, that none of them dared make head against them but Bryen, the brave king of Munster, who was always in arms to oppose them, and by his vigilance and bravery kept his dominions free from their incursions.

The gallant behaviour of Bryen occasioned the nobility of Ireland to form a design of raising him to the dignity of monarch, especially as Maolseadhluin, notwithstanding his personal bravery and vigilance for the good of the public in the beginning of his reign, was now grown indolent and negligent of the common safety. Accordingly the principal inhabitants of Munster and Connaught met in council, and having unanimously agreed to depose Maolseachluin, and to invite the victorious Bryen Boroinne to take upon him the government of the whole island, messengers were dispatched with their resolutions both to the monarch and Bryen.

The monarch received the messenger with the greatest scorn and contempt, giving him to know, that as he was duly elected monarch, he would defend his right of

possession to the last extremity. Bryen being informed of Maolseachluin's resolution, resolved to make use of the present dispositions of the people, to seize upon the government, and dispossess him by force; for this purpose he raised a numerous army of his subjects, both Irish and Danes, and marched towards Tarah. But before he began hostilities, he sent a messenger to Maolseachluin, to desire he would either resign the throne, and give him hostages, or immediately decide their pretensions by the sword. The monarch having received this message, demanded a month's truce, that he might muster his forces; and promised that if his subjects refused to support him with men or money, that he would then resign and send Bryen proper hostages. The king of Munster readily agreed to these conditions, and accordingly gave strict orders to his troops to behave peaceably in their quarters.

In the mean time Maolseachluin convened the principal nobility of Leath Cuinn, to advise with them, upon the situation of his affairs. He also sent to the great O'Neill, whom he required to assist him, as the honour of his family was concerned in maintaining him in the possession of the throne of Ireland, since their ancestors had enjoyed it for many ages, without interruption, being descended from Heremon. But the reputation of Bryen, and the late supineness of Maolseachluin, had such an effect upon the princes, that instead of assisting him with troops, they advised him to submit to the necessity of the times, and give up the monarchy to Bryen, whom they were well assured knew how to maintain his power.

This answer determined the monarch to quit the throne, since he found that those, whose business it was to assist him, advised him to it; he therefore, with twelve hundred horse, went to Bryen's camp, and made his submission. Bryen received him with marks of the greatest esteem; and having heard Maolseachluin's account of the defection of his friends, reflecting upon his personal courage, he generously told him, that he would give him a year's time, to see if he could retrieve his shattered fortune. This generous offer being accepted by Maolseachluin, Bryen led his army into Munster, having first made a present to the monarch of two hundred and forty

fine horses, and magnificent presents to his retinue; and Maolseachluin resumed the government.

When the year agreed on was expired, Bryen marched towards Tarah, with a numerous army, to take possession of the monarchy, either by a decisive battle, or the quiet resignation of the monarch in possession. Upon the news of the approach of the king of Munster, Maolseachluin, not having it in his power to engage the princes of Leath Cuinn in his defence, immediately waited upon Bryen at Athlone, and made his submission, delivering him hostages as king of Meath. Here bryen also received hostages from the province of Connought.

A. D. } 162. Bryen Boiroidhe, son of Kennedy, of  
1027. } the line of Heber Fionn, being elected monarch for his extraordinary merit, mounted the throne in the room of Maolseachluin deposed, and reigned twelve years.

Bryen had no sooner seated himself on the throne, than he marched into Ulster to oblige the prince of that province to own his authority, some of which he reduced by force, and others submitted through a dread of his power.

The Danes, under the command of Humphry the son of Sitrich, landed upon the coasts of Ulster, about this time, and committed cruel ravages. They likewise destroyed Cill Cleithe, Inis, and Comeasgraidh, carrying off very valuable spoils, with a great number of prisoners. They then set to sea, and landing upon the coast of Munster, continued their usual ravages, setting fire to Cork; but they soon after met a deserved fate, for Daniel Dubhdabhoirean seizing Humphry and Matghamhuin his grandson, by stratagem, put them to death. The Danes also, in conjunction with the Leinster forces, entered the country of Meath, and plundered Tarmuin Feicinn.

In the mean time, Bryen and his son Morrough were not idle; for entering the territories of their enemies, with separate armies, they triumphed every where, both over the Irish and the Danes.

Bryen having thus established a tranquillity in the kingdom unknown to many of his predecessors, set about reforming the state, which was then in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the continual depredations of the

Danes. He first gave magnificent presents to the great men, and confirmed them in their antient privileges, which had that happy effect that it secured them in their loyalty. He then rebuilt and repaired the churches and monasteries the Danes had destroyed, and placed the clergy therein, according to their just claims.

Having settled religion upon its antient footing, he repaired the public schools that had been destroyed, and erected new academies where they were wanting, in several parts of the kingdom. In these nurseries were the liberal sciences and all the branches of human learning taught; he also built public libraries, and made provision for such youth, as thirsted after learning, and were unable to support themselves. By these means the sciences were restored, which had, in some measure, been banished the island, by the continual irruptions of the Danes.

The commons of the kingdom shared likewise the favours of this great prince; for he gave them valuable privileges, bestowing on the most worthy of them, the lands he had taken from the Danes, if the original proprietors were not alive. Those who were alive and could give evidence of their right, were immediately put into possession of their former estates. He also erected forts in most parts of the kingdom, fixing able garrisons in them, to prevent a surprise. He caused the public roads to be mended, and bridges to be built over rivers and deep waters. He also revised the established laws, adding such new ones as he thought most for the benefit of the community, and purged the old ones from the corruptions that had crept into them, in the times of confusion: he likewise caused them to be put in execution with such rigour, that, it is said, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, in his time, travelled from end one of the kingdom to the other, alone, adorned with jewels and a most costly dress, with a wand in her hand and a ring of great value fixed upon the top of it, without being molested by any one; such an impression had the just execution of the laws upon the minds of the people. It was he also that appointed surnames of distinctions to all the branches of the Milesian race, in order to avoid confusion, and that the genealogies might be preserved with more

regularity: He regulated the precedency of the nobility in the royal assemblies; and ordained that none but the tribe of the Dailgais should wear arms in his court.

This great monarch having, by his public munificence and other virtues, recovered the antient character of the Irish which had been declining for some ages; all the petty princes of the island strove, with emulation, who should be foremost in paying him the revenues justly allotted him; so that his court at Ceann Coradh in Munster, was more splendid than any of his predecessors. Nevertheless, he was not so much taken up with the grandeur thereof, as to be neglectful of his duty as a father to his people; for still considering their safety, he resolved to have a good fleet at sea, to keep the Danes in awe. Pursuant to this resolution, he sent to Maolmordha Mac Murchuda, king of Leinster, to send him three of the longest and largest masts in his territories; which the king of Leinster immediately complied with, resolving to attend them himself to the court of Bryen, to see his sister who was married to that monarch.

Three tribes being appointed to carry these masts into Munster, viz. Jobh Failge, Jobh Faolain and Jobh Muireadhuig; on their way, there arose a dispute about which tribe should go first into the presence of the king of Ireland. The occasion of the contest coming to the king of Leinster's ears, he immediately declared for the people of Jobh Faolain, and instantly lighting from his horse, he rushed into the midst of the throng and clapped his shoulder, as a common bearer, to the mast which belonged to that tribe; in which struggle, the button of his mantle, which had been a present from Bryen Boiroimhe, was broke off and lost.

The dispute about precedency being ended by the interposing of the king of Leinster, the tribes with their burdens in a few days arrived at the court of Bryen, and were well received. Maolmordha upon his arrival, waited upon the queen his sister, who received him with the greatest marks of tenderness; when alone, he told her of the accident that had happened him in his journey, which he said was occasioned by his forwardness to serve the monarch her husband, whom he was ever proud of obliging, and at the same time requested the queen to get

another put on. This servile declaration so exasperated his sister, that she upbraided him to his face with cowardice and meanness of spirit, which she said reflected dishonour on his family, in submitting to a yoke that was never worn by any of her illustrious house; and pulling the mantle from his shoulders, with the greatest indignation, she threw it into the fire.

The king of Leinster could not help being chagrined at this bold remonstrance of his sister; but he smothered his passion for that time, and made no reply. The next day as Morrough the son of Bryen, and Conuing, his uncle's son, were playing at tables, Maolmordha being present, advised Conuing to make a point in the tables, which caused Morrough to lose the game. This unfair behaviour of the king of Leinster was taken so ill by the prince of Ireland, that amongst many other things said in passion, he told Maolmordha, that if he had given such good advice to the Danes at the battle of Gleann Madhma, they would not have been defeated. This severe charge made the king of Leinster reply, that if the Danes were defeated by his advice, he would soon put them in a way to be revenged of him and his father the king of Ireland, and in some measure to retrieve their losses. The prince immediately made answer, that these foreigners had been so often beaten by the Irish army, that he stood in no fear from any attempt they could make, though the king of Leinster was at the head of them. Upon this Maolmordha, in great disgust retired to his chamber, refusing to eat publicly as usual; and the next morning early, lest the prince of Ireland should seize upon him, he left the court, resolving upon revenge the first opportunity.

The monarch being informed of the king of Leinster's leaving his court in so abrupt a manner, enquired the cause, and being told it, he immediately sent a messenger after the king, to induce him to return and receive a present which he had prepared for him, on account of his past services. The messenger overtook Maolmordha upon the east side of the Shannon near Killaloe, and delivered his message to him; but the king in a violent passion struck him thrice on the head, which fractured his skull; and in this manner he returned to Bryen's court; which



so exasperated the monarch's household troops, that they desired leave to pursue the king of Leinster, and bring him back to answer for the indignity offered to the representative of Bryen. But the monarch being sensible he had received an affront in his palace, he was willing to let him return to his dominions in safety; therefore told his guards that he would chastise him at his own door for this disrespect offered him.

As soon as the king of Leinster arrived in his own dominions, he immediately summoned a convention of the nobility of his province; which being met, he informed them of the indignity offered him at the court of Bryen, which he represented with such aggravating circumstances, that they came instantly to a resolution to send to the king of Denmark for assistance in order to enable them to attack the monarch.

Hereupon the king of Leinster dispatched a messenger to the king of Denmark, requesting his aid against Bryen, which was readily granted; the king of Denmark immediately sending twelve thousand choice troops to his assistance, with his sons Charles and Andrew, two experienced captains, at the head of them, which soon after arrived in the port of Dublin, then inhabited by the Danes, Bryen having suffered them to remain in several ports, to facilitate trade.

Upon the junction of the Danes with the king of Leinster's forces, he sent an herald to the monarch to challenge him to a general engagement at Clontarff. Bryen, who though in the eighty-eighth year of his age, was yet a stranger to fear, accepted the challenge, and gathering his forces together, marched to the place appointed. Morrough his son, who resolved to signalize himself in this battle, requested the command in chief of the Munster and Connaught forces, which was readily granted by the monarch his father, who was convinced of his conduct and bravery. Both armies being met and drawn up in order of battle, the signal was given, and the fight began, which was sharp and bloody. Maolseachluin, the deposed monarch, immediately drew off the forces of Meath, designed by this conduct to strike a terror into Bryen's troops, and so occasion a general defeat. But this ungenerous action had not the desired effect; for the monarch's forces ani-

mated by the bravery of their general prest so furiously on the Danes and Leinster troops, that they were unable to sustain the shock, so that a general rout quickly ensued. The battle, which is one of the greatest taken notice of in the Irish history, is thus described by Maolseachluin king of Meath, in a letter sent to Clan Colman a month after the engagement. "I never, says he, beheld with my eyes, nor read in history of a sharper and bloodier fight than this memorable action; nor if an angel from heaven would descend and relate the circumstances of it, could

**you without difficulty be induced to give credit to them: I withdrew with the troops under my command, and was no otherwise concerned than as a spectator, standing at no greater distance than the breadth of a fallow field and ditch. When both the powerful armies engaged, and grappled in close fight, it was dreadful to behold how their swords glittered over their heads, being struck by the rays of the sun, which gave them the appearance of a numerous flock of white sea gulls flying in the air; the strokes were so mighty, and the fury of the combatants so terrible, that great quantities of hair torn or cut off from their heads, by the sharp weapons, was driven far off by the wind, and their spears and battle axes were so encumbered with hair cemented with clotted blood, that it was scarce possible to clear or bring them to their former brightness."**

In this terrible battle, which was fought on Good Friday, about ten thousand of the Danes and Leinster forces were killed, among whom were the king of Leinster, and the king of Danmark's two sons, and several of the nobility of Leinster. On the monarch of Ireland's part, four thousand of his forces were slain, among whom were Morrough prince of Ireland and his son Turlough, with many of the nobility of Munster and Connaught; and also the great Bryen Boiroinnhe, who was killed as he lay in his tent by a party of Danes, that were running away, under the command of one Bruadar; but his death was suddenly revenged by his guards, who pursued the Danes and put them all to the sword.

Upon this victory, the Irish army separated, and Donough the son of the late monarch, at the head of the Munster forces marched homewards. On his march the

family of Fiachadh Mulleathan required of Donough, that he would quit his pretensions to the crown of Munster and give hostages, according to ancient usage. Donough, surprised at this demand, replied, that his father and uncle had made the people of Munster own their power by force of arms; and that they durst not make so insolent a proposal if they had not taken the advantage of the weakness of the brave tribe of the Dailgais, who had suffered greatly in the last battle. The forces of Desmond receiving this answer immediately stood to their arms, and resolved to fall upon the Dailgais. Donough perceiving he should be suddenly set upon, ordered that his sick and wounded should be put into a garrison that was on the top of Mullach Maisteann, and that the third part of the forces should be left to secure them from any attempt of the enemy, designing, with the remaining part of the Dalgais, to give the Desmonians battle, although they were three thousand strong, and he but one thousand. But the wounded and sick would not be put into garrison, but chose to share the same fate with their brethren, and seizing their weapons, and stopping their wounds with moss, prepared for the fight. This surprising courage of the Dalgais, so intimidated the Desmonian army that they desisted from their pretensions, and marched homewards. Donough had yet another difficulty to encounter; for Mac Giolla Patrick, king of Ossory, who had conceived an extraordinary hatred against the Dailgais, sent a messenger to him to let him know that he would hinder his troops from passing through his dominions, if he did not send hostages as a security that they should commit no outrage in his country. This message Donough so highly resented, that he made the necessary dispositions for battle, without giving any answer to it, being informed that the king of Ossory was ready to fall upon him with a considerable army. His wounded men, as before, would not leave their companions, although they were scarce able to stand; but desired to be fixed to stakes in the ground, a wounded man between two sound men. Their request being put in execution, the king of Ossory's forces refused to fight with men so desperate; he therefore contented himself with harassing them in their marches, by which means he killed one hundred and fifty of those brave fellows,

notwithstanding the skill and conduct of Donough, their commander, who took every method to secure them in their retreat.

A. D. } 163. Maolseachluin II. upon the unfortunate  
1039. } death of the brave Bryen and Morrough his son, was restored to the throne, and reigned nine years. This prince, immediately, in conjunction with O'Neill and O'Maoldoruig, marched a considerable army, and surprised the city of Dublin, and having first plundered it, set it on fire. The Danes, who were inhabitants of the place, with those who had escaped the battle of Clontarf, united in-

to a body, and entered Jobh Cinselach, destroying all before them with fire and sword,

About the same time the monarch entered the province of Ulster, and committed great outrages, making vast numbers of the inhabitants slaves. And Donough Mac Fiolla Patrick barbarously murdered Donogan king of Leinster, with several of his nobility, in the palace of Feige O Ryan, king of Ondrona. Maolseachluin likewise attacked the king of Ossory in his own country, killing the king and carrying a great number of his subjects into captivity.

Soon after this Sitrich, the principal of the Danes of Dublin, put out the eyes of Bran king of Leinster, in Dublin, after he had governed the province two years. The Danes also cruelly plundered Ceanannus, killing a great many of the inhabitants, and carrying the rest into slavery.

Ugaire king of Leinster, who succeeded Bran, attacked the Danes of Dublin, and gained a complete victory. After this defeat Sitrich, who was governor of the Danes of Waterford, was killed by the king of Ossory. And about this time Maolseachluin II. died at Cro Inis Lochu Hainninn. This prince founded the famous abbey, called St. Mary's abbey in the suburbs of Dublin, and also maintained three hundred poor scholars, at his own expense.

A. D. } 164. Donough, the son of the famous Bryen  
1048. } Boiroidhe succeeded, and reigned fifty years; it is said that some of the petty princes refused to own his authority, as he was unable to reduce them to subjec-

tion, by reason of the intestine jars that arose among the several princes, upon the death of Bryen his father.

Many extraordinary transactions fell out in this prince's reign; the chief of which are as follows, viz. Harold the son of the famous earl Goodwin of England, being banished his country, received an honourable retreat here, till his father and himself were restored to their honours in their own country. Humphry the son of Sitrich, the chief of the Danes was taken prisoner by Mahon O Riagin king of Briag, and was obliged to purchase his freedom at the expense of two hundred cows and twenty horses. O Rourke king of Breisne committed great ravages, and plundered the church of Clonfert, but was slain the same day with the most of his army, by Donough the monarch. Diarmuidh the king of Leinster attacked and took the city of Waterford, and having secured the plunder, set the town on fire, which was soon consumed to ashes. Clonmacnoise was soon after plundered and burnt by the people of Connemacine: but soon after they were visited with a grievous distemper, which occasioned a great mortality; and it is said, the infection seized their cattle, carrying off vast numbers of them.

The nineteenth year of this monarch's reign, viz. one thousand and sixty-six, was remarkable for the conquest of England, by William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, surnamed the conqueror.\* The occasion of this extraordinary revolution, was as follows. Upon the death of Edward the Confessor, Harold, son of the famous earl Goodwin, had so wrought himself into the affections of the English, by his affable and obliging behaviour, that he got himself elected and crowned king in direct opposition to young prince Edgar the lawful heir, and the duke of Normandy, who pretended he was nominated to the succession by the late king.

Harold being crowned, the people all over the kingdom acknowledged him for their sovereign, and submitted to his authority; yet though his domestic affairs wore so good an aspect, the case was otherwise abroad; for earl Toston, his brother, whom he had divested of his government of

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\* Rapin.

Northumberland in the late reign, for his barbarous usage of that people, was making preparations to disturb him, and, if possible, to dethrone him. As Toston was likewise no stranger to the duke of Normandy's intentions, with whom he contracted a strict friendship, being both of them married to two sisters, daughters of the earl of Flanders, he had recourse to him, that they might consult on proper measures, against the king his brother. Doubtless the duke spirited him up to the resolution; but we do

not find, that he supplied him with troops, ships, or money, which he had occasion for himself, in his intended invasion. In all probability it was the earl of Flanders, that furnished Toston with the ships, with which he infested the English coasts, especially the isle of Wight. From thence he went and landed some troops at Sandwich; but, being told, that the king was on his march towards him, he embarked for the north, and entering the Humber with his little fleet, he invaded Yorkshire, making depredations as if he had been in an enemy's country. Harold not thinking it convenient to leave the southern parts, ordered earl Morcard to go against Toston; who being made governor of Northumberland, in his room, was more immediately concerned to put a stop to his incursions. As for the king, he continued at London, that he might have a vigilant eye over Edgar's party, and prevent their rising, in that prince's favor. This was what he apprehended to be of the utmost consequence, being very sensible, that Edgar's being laid aside gave great uneasiness to those who were well affected to the ancient royal family; and, therefore, he highly caressed both Edgar and his abettors. He even insinuated, that he accepted the crown, merely, on account of that prince's minority, giving his friends to understand, that he designed nothing less than to restore it to him, as soon as he should arrive at years of maturity; and with this view, he created him earl of Oxford, seeming to be extremely solicitous about his education, as if it was his intent in reality to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

In the interim, Morcard, accompanied by his brother Edwin, earl of Chester, marched with all expedition against Toston, who was now on the other side of the Humber, and surprising him in Lincolnshire, forced him:

with his little army, to retreat to his ships. Toston, not being able to attempt any considerable enterprise, with such a handful of men, steered his course to Scotland, in hopes of a reinforcement, but being disappointed, he set sail again, in order to make another descent upon England. He was prevented, however, by contrary winds, being driven on the coast of Norway, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had, hitherto, sought with so much industry.

Harold Harfager, king of Norway, having a little before subdued some of the Orcades, now called the isles of Orkney, which belonged to Scotland, was fitting out a more powerful fleet, that he might pursue his conquests; and Toston being informed of it, waited on him directly, pretending that he came on purpose to recommend to him a more noble undertaking. He assured him, that he had now a fair opportunity of making a conquest of England, if he would only set about it; and, that there were two potent factions in the kingdom, one for Edgar, and the other for the duke of Normandy, both enemies to the king, which would facilitate the execution of this design; that he himself had a very good interest in Northumberland; and, lastly, that Harold was exceedingly abhorred by his subjects, who would certainly abandon him, as soon as a foreign army should appear in England, able to support them against him. Harfager, desirous of glory, and already anticipating, in his own imagination, such a valuable prize, was easily prevailed on to comply with this proposal, and resolved to employ all his forces in so important an expedition.

Whilst the king of Norway was active in making preparations, the duke of Normandy was equally solicitous about the means of seizing on the crown of England, upon which his eyes had entirely been fixed, for a considerable time, being extremely mortified to find his rival was possessed of that dignity; and though Harold seemed to be firmly settled on the throne, he flattered himself that it was in his power to dethrone him, since the way of arms was still open, when all other methods proved abortive. However, he first sent ambassadors to the king, to require him to surrender his crown; and, upon his refusal, not only to charge him with the violation of his oath, but even to de-

clare war against him. Harold made the following reply to his ambassadors: "That their master had no pretensions at all to the crown; that though the late king had disposed of it in his favor, a thing altogether unknown to the English, it was contrary to their laws, which do not allow the king to bestow the crown at his pleasure, much less to a foreigner; that for his part, he was elected by the general assembly of the nation, and consequently, could not resign their gift, without breach of that confidence they had repose<sup>d</sup> in him. As for the oath, the violation of which was charged upon him, as it was extorted from him, he declared it null and void, by the laws of all the nations in the world; and, in the conclusion, he said, he knew how to defend his title, against all that should dare to call it in question." Thus resolved, he took such measures, as were most likely to prove successful

The duke's indignation at being thus imposed upon, the desire of revenge, the shame of receding from his resolution, and the pleasing prospect of becoming master of England, excited him to do all that was possible to accomplish his designs. Harold, on the other hand, finding he was like to be engaged by so formidable an enemy, thought nothing could more effectually establish him upon the throne, than to gain over the hearts of his subjects to his interest. With this view, he lessened the taxes, and ordered justice to be administered with strictness and impartiality, omitting nothing that could confirm his subjects in the respect and affection they had already entertained for him; and by these means, he rendered himself more popular than ever. The English, charmed with his conduct, resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to support him on the throne, to which they had advanced him; so that the duke perceived he had no other way left, to bring about his ends, but to muster up an army equal to that of the king.

The duke was chiefly at a loss how to raise a sum of money, sufficient to bear the expense of such an undertaking. To this purpose he first convened an assembly of the states of Normandy, in order to obtain their concurrence; but they were far from being forward to come into his measures. They represented to him, "That the late wars had drained Normandy both of men and mo-



ney; and that instead of being in a condition to make new conquests, it would be difficult for them to defend their own territories against the attacks of a powerful invader." They likewise observed to him, "That how equitable soever his claim was to the crown of England, they could not apprehend that Normandy would reap any advantage from this expedition; or in a word, that their allegiance obliged them to serve in foreign wars, in which the interest of the state was no way concerned." This cutting answer made him despair of raising money in a public manner, he therefore projected another and more successful expedient, viz. to borrow money from private persons, and having prevailed upon some of the principal of the Normans to contribute on this occasion, the rest were inspired with emulation, to follow their example. William Fitz Osborn proposed to equip forty ships at his own charge, and others of them, according to their ability, subscribed very considerable sums. The duke by this method, raised more money than he could have done by a public tax; but as he still wanted more, he contracted with several of the neighbouring princes, to furnish him with troops and transports, on the condition of their being entitled to lands in England, after the conquest of it. He likewise applied to France for assistance, and though it was not the interest of that crown, that the duke of Normandy's power should be augmented; yet fortunately for the duke, king Philip, then a minor, under the guardianship of the earl of Flanders, did not hinder his proceedings, which a prince of greater experience, would certainly have obstructed: The court of France, indeed, dissuaded the duke from his enterprise, but to no purpose.

In the interim, the duke, who very well knew the weakness of his title, attempted to varnish it over with the colour of justice. With this view, he exerted himself to obtain the pope's approbation, promising, as it is reported, to hold the kingdom of England from the apostolic see. The bishop of Rome, therefore very heartily espoused his cause, sending him a consecrated banner, with a golden *Agnus Dei* and one of St. Peter's hairs, and solemnly excommunicated all that durst oppose him, in the execution of his designs. This was extremely serviceable to the duke, as it not only gave him an oppor-

tunity of justifying his expedition, but removed the scruples of those he attempted to engage in his favour: but it was not so effectual in England. Whether the English had received no account of the pope's excommunication, or whether they regarded it as an instance of partiality, it did not however prevent Harold from being supplied with a powerful fleet and army, and getting in readiness to receive the enemy.

But the charge of so great an army being very burthensome to his subjects, after he had waited some months, for the duke's coming, and winter approaching, he fancied, pursuant to some false informations, that he had deferred his expedition until spring; and, therefore, he concluded, he might safely lay up his ships for the winter, and disband his troops.

As Harold was on the road to London, from Kent, where he had given orders for disbanding the army, he was informed that the king of Norway, accompanied by earl Toston, had entered the Tyne, with a fleet of five hundred sail. Being alarmed at this unexpected invasion, he reassembled his army in a hurry; but before he could do it, the Norwegians had made a descent, and having ravaged the counties, on both sides the Tyne, putting to sea again, they landed their forces on the north side of the Humber, and made horrible devastations. Morcard and Edwin attempted to put a stop to their career, with some troops levied in haste; but their whole army was destroyed. The Norwegians, flushed with this success, besieged York, which they quickly subdued; for the citizens, being in no condition to defend themselves, thought it more advisable to surrender upon terms, than to be exposed to inevitable ruin. In the interim, Harold marched towards the Norwegians, with all the expedition, in order to give them battle; who, having left their fleet in the Humber, advanced northward, to complete the conquest of Northumberland, before they proceeded any farther to the south. He came up with them at Standford-bridge, on the river Derwent; where the Norwegians had entrenched themselves so closely, that there was no way left for attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were masters. Harold, therefore, who well knew, of what importance it was to come to an

engagement, ordered that the bridge should be attacked immediately. The Norwegians made a brave defence, but they were not able to withstand the efforts of the English, notwithstanding the surprising valour of one of their men, who alone defended the bridge for a considerable time. At length, this valiant Norwegian being slain, who it is said killed forty men with his own hand, Harold took possession of the bridge, passed his army over it, and then falling furiously on the enemy, after an obstinate fight entirely routed them. There had never been heretofore an engagement in England, between two such numerous armies, each of them consisting of no less than sixty thousand men; and the battle which was very obstinate and bloody, lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. Harfager and Toston were slain on the spot, and of the whole army that came from Norway in five hundred ships, the remains were carried off in twenty vessels, with the conqueror's leave. The booty taken on this occasion was immensely great, as they found in the camp not only what the Norwegians brought from Norway, but all that they had plundered the English of. A certain author affirms,\* there was such a quantity of gold among the spoil, that twelve young men could hardly bear it on their shoulders. Harold, by retaining the plunder for his own use, occasioned disorders in the army that were, afterwards, very injurious to his affairs.

This prince, who was naturally generous, we should have imagined would have secured the hearts of his soldiers, at this critical juncture, by a division of plunder so fortunately acquired; but he considered, that if he reserved it to defray the necessary expenses of the war against the duke of Normandy, he should, in a great measure, ease his subjects, whose affections he was desirous of securing. Yet it was, doubtless, equally necessary to oblige his soldiers, nay, in the present case, the most expedient step he could have possibly taken; for though it has been often observed, that soldiers are never less regarded than when, by their bravery, they have obtained for their masters some signal advantages, their own victories rendering

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\* Adam Bremensis.

them useless; yet it is as certain, that sooner or later, a discontented army will give their prince or general, occasion to repent of ungrateful usage.

Whilst Harold was employed in the north, in regulating disorders, the duke of Normandy, who had long waited for a fair wind at St. Valery, embarked towards the end of September, and had a speedy passage to Pevensey, now Pemsey, in Sussex. It is related, that leaping ashore he fell prostrate on his face, at which one of the soldiers said merrily, "See, our duke is taking possession of England." The duke interpreted this saying to be a favourable omen.

As there were none to oppose his landing, he first ordered a fort to be erected as a place of retreat in case of necessity. Some affirm, indeed, that he sent his ships back to Normandy, to convince the army that they had nothing to trust to but their valour, and according to Camden, the ships were burnt by the duke's order. Having continued a few days at Pevensey, he marched along the shore to Hastings, where he built a stronger fort than the former, resolving to wait there for the reception of the enemy, of whom he had no intelligence. Here he published a manifesto, which contained the reasons of his coming into England;\* and the first assigned was, to revenge the death of prince Alfred, brother to king Edward. This was a trifling pretence if made use of, since earl Goodwin, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and it had never been charged to Harold. His second was, to restore Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, to his see. This also was as frivolous as the former; because this prelate was banished by the general assembly, in the reign of Edward, and consequently, the present king was not accountable for it; but it is highly probable, this article was inserted to give a specious gloss to the pope's partiality, in favour of the duke. The third, which he declared his principal reason, was, that he came to assist the English in bringing Harold to condign punishment, for presuming to usurp the crown, not only without any colour of title to it, but in direct violation of his oath. It is observable, he does not at all take notice of Ed-

\*Camden.

ward's will, or even of any verbal promise made him by that prince. Some writers tell us, that the duke founded his right on his affinity to Edward; but he was no other way related to the late king than by Emma of Normandy, who never had any right to the crown; and the duke was besides a bastard. He could not therefore found his hopes so much on his manifesto, as on the strength of his army, being sensible that if he proved victorious he could easily enforce his reasons. In the interim, to ingratiate himself with the English, he gave orders that his army should injure none, who were not actually in arms against him; but neither this charge, nor his manifesto, gained any of the English over to his party; as they could not apprehend, he had any just occasion to enter the kingdom, in this hostile manner, or that it would promote their advantage to espouse his cause.

Harold was no sooner apprised of the landing of the Normans, but he immediately set out for London, determined to give them battle with the utmost expedition; not imagining they were more formidable than the Norwegians. When he arrived there and reviewed his army, he perceived that it was exceedingly diminished, not only by his losses at Stanford, but by the vast number of deserters; however, all the nobles in the kingdom offered him their assistance, in this extremity, it being no less their interest than the king's, to repulse their foreigners.

Whilst Harold remained at London in expectation of being reinforced by some troops that were behind, the duke sent ambassadors to him to require him to surrender the crown, and to charge him with the violation of his oath; but the king was so incensed at this new insult, that he could scarce refrain from using the ambassadors with severity. However, though he restrained his passion, he in return sent the duke a menacing and insulting answer; who patiently heard the whole of Harold's message, dismissing the ambassadors, without any reply.

In the mean time, Harold, having mustered all his forces together, encamped within seven miles of the Norman army, resolved to engage them. Whilst the armies lay near each other, spies were continually dispatched from both parties, to enquire into the strength and pos-

ture of the enemy; but the English spies so magnified the number and discipline of the Normans, that the principal officers began to doubt of the success of the battle; and Gurth, Harold's brother, on account of these reports, attempted to persuade the king to defer it. He told him, "That by this delay he would find his army become daily more numerous, whereas the enemy's forces would continually decrease; that nothing could be more prejudicial to the Normans, that to winter in an enemy's country, where they had not so much as one fortress to secure their retreat, and from whence, in all likelihood, the want of provisions would oblige them to retire; that if he was guilty of the violation of his oath, of which he was accused, he had no reason to expect that Heaven would prosper his arms; but that, if after all, he was absolutely determined to come to an engagement immediately, it would be most advisable for him, not to be present, in person, at the battle, that he might intimidate the Normans, with the dread of having a fresh army to encounter, if they should prove victorious; and lastly, that if he would entrust him with the command of his forces, he would promise him, not indeed victory, which was entirely at the disposal of Providence, but, however, to sacrifice his life in the service of his country." The king who was deaf to all his brother's arguments, made the following reply: "That, as he had, by his former actions, gained the affections of the English, he could not think of losing them by a dishonourable retreat; that he rather chose to run the hazard of a battle, the result of which was as yet uncertain, than to tarnish his reputation; that after all, the Normans were not more formidable than the Norwegians, and that, as he was obliged to fight, he could never have a fairer opportunity than whilst the army was flushed with their late success; in fine, that he was resolved to demonstrate to his subjects, that he was not unworthy of the crown he wore."

The duke of Normandy perceiving, by all Harold's motions, that he was resolved to give him battle, advanced a little forward, to a more advantageous spot of ground, for the drawing up of his army. But whilst these preparations were making, duke William's haughtiness, seemed in some measure to abate, and perhaps the ap-

prehension of a decisive battle, in an enemy's country, where his loss would be irretrievable, inspired him with some dread of the event. The deluge of blood that was on the point of being spilt, and that in a cause, which there is some reason to suppose he did not consider as a just one, notwithstanding his specious pretences, might likewise have occasioned some qualms. Be this as it may, he sent a monk to the king before the engagement, with four proposals, which were left to his choice. The first was, that Harold should resign the crown pursuant to his oath. By the second, he proposed to return into Normandy, provided Harold would do him homage, and become his tributary. By the third, he consented to submit the whole affair to the pope's determination. Lastly, he offered to decide their quarrel by single combat. It is no wonder, that Harold rejected all these proposals; for as the first was ridiculous, so the second was derogatory to Harold's courage and honour. The third seemed at first view more plausible; but the pope having already espoused the duke's cause, what grounds had Harold to expect, that he would be impartial in his decision? And as for the fourth, the risque was by no means equal, since in single combat the duke only ventured his life, whereas Harold hazarded the loss of both his crown and life. If the duke should prove victorious, he would have gained a flourishing kingdom, as the fruit of the victory, whilst Harold could have obtained no more than the bare glory of the conquest. Moreover, Harold was of opinion, that an affair of such consequence to the nation, ought not to depend on the strength and dexterity of a single arm; and, therefore, his answer was, "That God should determine on the "morrow."

The English spent the night in singing and carousing, as if they had been assured of the victory; but the Normans prepared themselves for the battle, by devout prayers to the Almighty for his blessing on their arms. At length, on the 14th of October, Harold's birth-day, but much more remarkable for one of the most important events, that ever happened in England, both armies came to an engagement. The Kentish men stood in the front of the English, which privilege they had enjoyed from the time of the heptarchy; and the king placed himself

in the centre, resolving to fight on foot, the more effectually to invigorate the spirits of his soldiers. The Normans being drawn up in three bodies, Montgomery and Fitz Osborn commanded the first, Geoffray Mattel the second, and the duke headed the third, that was reserved for the relief of those that most wanted assistance. The Normans began the fight with a volley of arrows, which being shot upwards, appeared like a thick cloud over the heads of those that were in the front of the English army; and, as their ranks were very close, they made

a great slaughter. The English being unacquainted with this method of fighting, were at first disordered, upon which the Normans vigorously attacked them; but the English immediately recovering themselves, gave them so warm a reception, that they were forced to give way in order to take breath. Soon after the Normans renewed their attack: but they met with a brave resistance, nor was it in their power to break the ranks of the English, they being determined to die, rather than retreat; and the Normans ashamed to draw back, there was no visible advantage on either side, for a considerable space; for the presence of the commanders animating the soldiers, they every where fought with equal bravery, from seven in the morning till night.

We cannot pretend to give an exact description of this bloody battle, as the historians are very confused concerning it; but shall only take notice of two circumstances, which they all acknowledge, gained the Normans the victory. The fight had lasted all day, without any one being able to distinguish who had the advantage; when the duke projected an expedient, which turned the balance in his favour. This prince, finding that he could not break the ranks of the English, ordered his troops to retreat, as if they were dispirited, but at the same time, to take special care to do it in good order; which being put into execution, the English believing it to be an introduction to their victory, with reiterated acclamations pressed upon the retiring enemy, and with so much eagerness that they broke their ranks. The Normans perceiving the success of their stratagem, by a discipline to which they had been long accustomed, closed their ranks again, standing their ground; and, then attacked the Eng-



lish in their turn, who were in great disorder, and made a terrible slaughter. Harold distracted even to madness, to see the victory in a moment snatched out of his hands, exerted himself to rally his troops; and drew up on a rising ground, near the field of battle, a considerable body of foot, which was augmented by the accession of the flying troops. The duke, sensible that his victory was far from being complete, whilst such a powerful body of the enemy kept together, ordered the Normans to fall upon them with fresh vigour; but so brave was their defence, and the loss of the Normans so great, that the fortune of the day seemed to be still uncertain. Night approaching, the duke, at last, despairing of penetrating into the ranks of the English, began to consider himself as vanquished, since he was not entirely victorious; and in all probability, the English might have made a safe retreat, by the favour of the night, if Harold had left the enemy in possession of the field of battle. But the king apprehending that his retiring might be prejudicial to his affairs, and sully his reputation, was resolved to stand his ground, especially as he had the prospect of rallying the whole army, during the night, in order to renew the fight the next morning.

In the interim, the duke, apprehensive of losing the glory of an entire victory if he remained inactive till morning, made another attempt to force the English from their station. In this attack, Harold was slain, by an arrow shot into his brains; which fatal accident so dispirited his troops, that they betook themselves to flight. Thus Harold's death completed the entire defeat of the English by the Normans, who pursued them during the remainder of the day, putting all they met in their way to the sword, to prevent the trouble of guarding prisoners; but the darkness of the night saved a considerable part of the English army, who retreated under the conduct of Morcard and Edwin. These lords, who had given visible proofs of their courage in this memorable fight, and had all along faithfully adhered to Harold, upon his decease and that of Gurth and Lewin his brothers, at length submitted to the Conqueror. In this battle the duke lost six thousand men, and according to historians, upwards of sixty thousand Englishmen were slain.

The duke of Normandy, upon this victory, which equalled the height of his wishes, caused his whole army to return thanks unto God, on their knees; and then having ordered his tent to be pitched in the field of battle, he spent the residue of the night among the slain. The next day he gave orders for the burial of his dead, permitting the English peasants to perform the same office to the others. The bodies of Harold and his brothers being found, he sent them to Gith, their mother, who gave them as honourable a burial, as the present circumstances of affairs would admit, in Waltham abbey, which was founded by Harold.

Thus died Harold, sword in hand, in the defence of his own and his country's cause, and with him ended the monarchy of the Anglo Saxons, which commenced above six hundred years before, in the person of Hengist the first king of Kent. The duke of Normandy by this victory, took possession of the crown of England, and governed that nation with great tyranny during his life. But to return to the affairs of Ireland.

Carthach, king of Eoganatch Cashel, with several of his nobility were burnt to death, in a house which was set on fire by a son of Dunchain, a relation of Donough's. Soon after this accident, Donough the monarch, was deposed by the states of the kingdom, for being concerned in the death of Teige, his elder brother, who was a prince possessed of many virtues. After his expulsion, he went a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in St. Stephen's abbey, in that city.

A. D. } 165. Torlough, the son of Teige, and grand-  
1098. } son of Bryen, upon the deposing of his uncle, was declared monarch, and reigned twelve years. There happened not many transactions of note in this reign. Connor king of Meath was most inhumanly murdered by his brother Mortough. William Rufus, king of England, sent to Torlough, for as much timber, the growth of his dominions, as would be sufficient for the building of Westminster hall, which was granted. Soon after this, the monarch's queen died, who was daughter to the king of Ossory, and Turlough himself did not long survive her.

A. D. } 166. Mortough, brother to Torlough, succeeded-  
 1110. } ed him, and reigned twenty years. He was a  
 prince of great virtue and piety. This monarch summoned a general assembly of the nobility and clergy of the island, to meet at a place called Fiadh Mac Maongusa. At this assembly, which was held in eleven hundred and eleven and eleven hundred and twelve, there were present one archbishop, eight bishops, three hundred and sixty-six priests and priors, one hundred and forty deacons, and several religious persons of all orders. In this convention, many wholesome laws and regulations were made for the government of the clergy and laity.

Also in this reign, viz. in the year eleven hundred and fifteen, a convocation was held, which was called the convocation of Rath Breasail, by Gillebertus, bishop of Limerick, with a legantine power, in which several alterations were made in the bishopricks, and several canons enacted, which hath been published by the learned bishop Usher.

It is said that the inhabitants of the neighbouring isles sent a messenger to this monarch, to send them a person of noble blood to govern them,\* during the minority of their prince, whose name was Humphry. Their request was complied with, and Mortough sent his cousin, Daniel O Bryen, who governed those islanders three years; but endeavouring to subvert the rights and privileges of the people, he was divested of his authority, and sent back to Ireland.

And it is also said, that Magnus king of Norway, grandson of Harold Harfager who was slain in England, in one thousand and sixty-six, sent to Mortough, to demand his homage for the kingdom of Ireland, at the same time requiring of him, as a token of his submission to carry a pair of his shoes, which he had sent him for that purpose, on his shoulders. The monarch dreading an invasion, it is said, obeyed this haughty message; which condescension of his, was so resented by the nobility of the island, that they upbraided Mortough to his face, for his cowardice and meanness of spirit. But he was not in the least incensed at this bold rebuke, replying mildly, that he

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\* Harbut

would rather advance the happiness and security of his country by his submission, than expose to ruin and desolation the least province of his dominions.

Magnus finding his menace had the desired effect, the little inclination of the king to war being discovered by his servile submission, thought it a time proper to invade the island, and make a conquest of it; he therefore fitted out a numerous fleet, and sailed directly for Ireland. So assured was he of conquest, that he went on shore with his queen, some of his nobility and a few soldiers, not caring to stay till his whole army was landed, and immediately began to set fire to the country; but the Irish were so well prepared to receive him, that they surprised Magnus and his party, and cut them all off. The fleet being acquainted with the loss of their king and their principal officers, immediately returned to Norway, without making any farther attempt upon the kingdom.

Mortough, at last was visited with a sickness that kept him in a languishing condition for five years, and then died at Ardmagh; whence his body was removed to the church of Killaloe, and interred there.

A. D. } 167. Turlough, the son of Roger O Connor,  
1130 } of the line of Heremon, succeeded, and reigned  
twenty years.

This prince entered the territories of Munster and committed great ravages, plundering Cashel and Ardfinnan; but the provincial forces falling on his rear, made a terrible slaughter of his troops, killing O Flaherty king of West Connaught, with several other persons of the first quality, and forced the monarch to retire. This misfortune did not discourage Turlough from his designs; for he had no sooner recruited his army than he entered Munster, committing terrible ravages, and in some time obliged the whole province to own his authority. After this, he divided Munster into two parts, giving the fourth part to Donough Mac Carthy, and the north to Connor O Bryen, causing them to do homage and deliver hostages for their future conduct.

In the year eleven hundred and thirty-four, the church of Cormac in Cashel was consecrated with great solemnity, the principal clergy and nobility of the kingdom being

present. Soon after this, Mac Carthy was assassinated by Connor O Bryen.

The murder of Mac Carthy so exasperated the monarch, that he raised a gallant army, and invaded Munster; but being met at Moine More by Turlough the son of Connor O Bryen with the provincial forces, both armies engaged. The success for some time was doubtful; but the monarch's forces having made great slaughter of the Munster troops, he at length gained a complete victory. Turlough O Bryen was banished to the north, and Munster was again divided by the monarch between Teige O Bryen and Diarmuidh the son of Mac Carthy.

Soon after this memorable battle, Turlough died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, having in his life time erected three remarkable bridges in the province of Connaught, viz. the bridges of Athlone, and Athchrochta, which stood over the Shannon, and the bridge of Dunleogha, upon the Suca. This prince having left the greatest part of his personal estate to the clergy, his body was interred with great funeral pomp, near the great altar of Ciaran at Clanmacnoise.

A. D. } 168. Mortough Mac Neill Mac Laugh-  
1150. } luin, of the line of Heremon, succeeded, and reigned monarch over the greatest part of the island eighteen years. This prince's reign was remarkable for a council held at Ceanannus in the county of Meath, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-two, in which presided cardinal John Paparo and Christian O Connor, bishop of Lismore, as the pope's legates. In this council the bishopricks were reduced to a fewer number, and four archbishopricks were then established, viz. Ardmagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, there being only two before, viz. Ardmagh and Cashel. For these four archbishopricks the pope sent four palls, the Irish having never before made use of any such thing, although Ardmagh and Cashel were always called archbishopricks. The pall is a piece of white woollen cloth, of the breadth of a border, made round and thrown over the shoulders. Upon this are two others of the same sort, one falling down on the breast, and the other on the back, with a red cross on each of them, several crosses of the same color being on the upper part of it, about the shoulders. This pall is laid up-

on St. Peter's tomb by the pope, and then sent away to the respective metropolitans; without which they cannot call a council, bless the chrism, consecrate churches, &c. At the delivery of it, they swore fealty to the pope. The antient pall, from the Latin, pallium, was an entire magnificent habit, to remind the bishop, that his life should be answerable to the dignity of its appearance.

There was not any other remarkable occurrence in this reign. Mortough the monarch at length died in a peaceable manner, after an inactive reign of eighteen years.

A. D. } 169. Roderick the son of Turlough O Con-  
1168 } nor, succeeded and reigned only four years as  
monarch. This prince's reign was remarkable for Ire-  
land's being brought into subjection to the crown of Eng-  
land, which remarkable event happened in the following  
manner.

Henry II. king of England, a prince of boundless ambition (who in his prosperity used to say, that the whole world was but sufficient for one great man) being in possession of several large provinces in France, viz. Poitou, Guienne, Saintonge, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, was desirous of adding Ireland to his dominions; and he was soon furnished with a pretence to satisfy his ambition; for the Irish in the year eleven hundred and fifty-six, having taken some Englishmen prisoners, sold them for slaves; two other favorable circumstances, at this time, likewise concurred to facilitate his design, for he was not only at peace with all his neighbors, but as Adrian IV. then pope, was a native of England, he apprehended it would not be very difficult to procure his approbation. Though the outrages committed by the Irish upon his subjects, might be one reason of his intended expedition; yet the glory of God and the salvation of souls, much more noble and plausible motive, but which seldom move princes to projects of this nature, were the arguments he advanced, to prevail upon Adrian; to which he subjoined another, and no less powerful consideration, viz. the enlargement of the jurisdiction and revenues of the holy see. He alleged, that as the Irish were schismaticks and bad christians, it was necessary to reform them, and oblige them to own the papal authority, which they had hitherto disregarded; and that the most probable means to attain

this end, was to bring them into subjection to the crown of England, which had ever been devoted to the holy see. This appears from the following bull\* which Adrian sent him on this occasion.

*ADRIAN, Servant of the Servants of GOD, to his son, in CHRIST JESUS, Henry, king of England, sends greeting the apostolical benediction.*

“The desire your magnificence expresses to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain eternal happiness in heaven, doubtless, deserves the highest commendations; for, as a good catholick prince, you are very solicitous to enlarge the borders of the church, propagate the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and pluck up vice by the roots, in the field of the Lord; and, with this view, you apply to us, for countenance and direction. We are, therefore, confident that your undertaking will be crowned with success; since whatever is undertaken from a principle of faith and religion, never proves abortive. It is certain, that according to your confession, Ireland, as well as all other islands, that have embraced the doctrines of christianity, is unquestionably St. Peter’s right, and belongs to the jurisdiction of the Roman church; and for this reason, after mature deliberation, we have concluded it to be expedient to plant in that island colonies of the faithful, who may be acceptable to God.

You have given us to understand, most dear son in Christ, that you intend an expedition into Ireland, in order to reduce it into subjection to just laws, and to extirpate vice, which has long triumphed there; and you promise to pay us, out of every house, an annual acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the church, without the least detriment or diminution. Upon this promise, we readily consent and allow, that you may make a descent into that island, to enlarge the boundaries of the church, to reform the manners of the natives, and promote the growth of virtue and the Christian religion; and we exhort you to do whatever you ap-

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\*Gir. Cam. Diceto. M. Paris.

prehend to be proper, to promote the honour of God and the salvation of the people, whom we charge to own you for their sovereign lord; provided always, that the Peter-pence be punctually paid, and the rights of the church inviolably preserved. If, then, you put your design in execution, labour above all things, to improve the natives of Ireland in virtue, and use both your own and the endeavours of those you shall judge worthy to be employed in this work, that the church of God and true religion may flourish in the country, the honour of God and the **salvation of souls be in such a manner advanced, as may entitle you to an everlasting reward in heaven, and an immortal fame upon earth."**

It is not an easy matter to form a judgment, from the perusal of this bull, whether Henry or the pope was guilty of the greatest dissimulation; for the former made use of false pretences, to varnish over his ambition, whilst the latter pretended to believe him, in order to extend a spiritual jurisdiction over a country to which he had no right\*, and with this view transferred it to a prince who was no more entitled to take possession of it than his holiness was to bestow it; but it was not very difficult to penetrate through all these disguises. The people of Ireland, had not, as yet, fully owned the papal authority; and this was the immorality to be rooted out of the field of the Lord. Submission to the bishop of Rome was the seed to be so industriously sown and cultivated; or else what can possibly be meant by spreading the light of the truth, where Christianity had been so long before believed, and in a most glorious manner publicly professed? However, Henry being supported by the pope, resolved to embrace the present opportunity: but several troubles breaking out upon the back of one another, he could not accomplish his designs till the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, when several circumstances concurred in making him master of the island.

Diarmuidh Mac Morrough, king of Leinster, one of the most potent Irish princes, by reason of the extent of his dominions, having debauched and carried off the wife of Feighernan O Rourke, king of Breifne, when her hus-

\* Rapin.



band was on his pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, occasioned a rupture between Diarmuidh and Roderick, the monarch, who was also king of Connaught; for the king of Breifne returning home, and hearing of the outrage committed on his queen, immediately resolved to punish the king of Leinster for so base an action. He accordingly engaged the monarch to espouse his quarrel; and with the united forces of Breifne, Connaught, Meath, and Oirgiallach, he marched into the province of Leinster with fire and sword, and committed great ravages. Diarmuidh alarmed at this sudden invasion, summoned the nobility of his province, to assist him in driving the invaders out of his dominions; but his remonstrances had no effect upon the people; for since his accession to the crown of Leinster, his tyrannical and arbitrary government, had quite alienated the hearts of his subjects from him; so that, instead of assisting him in his distress, the principal of the nobility sent to the monarch to beg he might take their country into his protection. This sudden defection of his subjects, obliged Diarmuidh to quit the island; and as none of the princes, his neighbours, would engage in his quarrel, from a detestation of his abominable crime, he implored the protection of the king of England, who was then in France, promising to own him, as his sovereign lord, if he would restore him to his crown. The proposal was, doubtless, very grateful to Henry, who had so long before, projected the adding of Ireland to his dominions; but the war with France yet subsisting, he could not immediately assist the fugitive king; but taking it to be his interest, to persuade Diarmuidh to begin a war, which might, he concluded, turn to his advantage in the end, he advised him to go into England, in order to obtain what supplies he could from the English barons, and to expect a greater reinforcement from himself, as soon as he had leisure, for that purpose.

The king of Leinster, thus encouraged went to England, where Robert Fitz-Stephen and Richard de Clare, surnamed Strong-bow, earl of Pembroke, entered into an agreement with him, on certain conditions. The former was prevailed on, from the prospect of advancing his fortune in Ireland, Diarmuidh having promised to give the

town of Wexford and two cantreds of land adjacent, to him and his heirs for ever: and the latter who had large possessions in England and Wales, was gained over, by the king's assuring him he should have his only daughter in marriage, and succeed him in the throne.

These lords having raised some troops, among their friends and vassals, Fitz-Stephen, who was first in readiness, accompanied Diarmuidh, with four hundred men, and landed in the year eleven hundred and seventy-one, near Waterford; the king of Leinster led them to Wexford, which being soon taken, was given to Fitz-Stephen, who planted there a colony of English, the first of that nation who settled in Ireland: where they remain to this day, retaining still their antient garb, and much of the old English language, with a mixture of Irish.

Encouraged by this success, the adventurers being reinforced by Maurice de Prendergast with new forces from England, to the number of three thousand, marched against the king of Ossory; but this prince being surprised, and in no condition to make resistance, was obliged to submit to such terms as they were pleased to impose.

In the mean time, Roderick the monarch, convening the states of the island, persuaded them to resolve on driving out Diarmuidh, and the English; whose views it was evident, were not limited to the assistance of the king of Leinster; but as the adventurers were now grown very formidable; he thought it most advisable, first to try if he could prevail on them by fair means to quit the island. He first then offered Fitz-Stephen a considerable sum of money on condition he would retire; but this proposal being refused, he applied to Diarmuidh, promising to restore him to his kingdom, provided he would engage to send back the English. The king of Leinster, at once, complied with this offer; but, when he and the monarch came to the point of performing their conditions, mistrusting each other, they could neither agree upon the time nor the place. In the interim Maurice Fitz-Gerald, brother-in-law to Fitz-Stephen, arrived with fresh forces from England at Wexford, where he was met by the king of Leinster, who led him to Dublin, which they invested, and obliged the inhabitants of that city to purchase their peace with a considerable sum of money.

These repeated successes, occasioned Diarmuidh to aspire to the monarchy, with the assistance of the English; which ambitious view was encouraged by the English commanders, who knew it would be the only method to accomplish their designs, as they might, under pretence of settling him on the throne, introduce a considerable reinforcement of English troops into the island. Accordingly they advised Diarmuidh to send to England for more forces; which being done, there soon arrived Redmond de la Gross and William Fitz-Gerald, with a small number of brave fellows, from the earl of Pembroke, to discover the state of the country, who landed within four miles of Waterford, where they erected a fort of sods and stones, to secure them from the attacks of the inhabitants. The king of the Deasies having heard of their arrival, sent two hundred men, under the command of an experienced officer, to dislodge the English, and not to suffer a man to escape. Redmond, who had the command of the fort, observing the Irish advancing to attack him, immediately drew up his men and fell upon them; but finding their number was much greater than he expected, and being pretty warmly received, he endeavoured to regain the fort. However the Irish pursued him so close, that he was obliged to face about, and fighting with a kind of desperate resolution, so astonished the enemy, who were but raw troops, that they fled for their lives.

Soon after this action, the earl of Pembroke arrived with one thousand two hundred men, near Waterford, where he was met by Diarmuidh and his English auxiliaries, who, in conjunction, laid siege to the city of Waterford, and in a few days entered the town, by a general assault, where they put all the inhabitants to the sword. By this act of cruelty we should rather incline to believe that the English came with a view to extirpate than to reform the Irish, which was the seeming object recommended in the pope's bull. This massacre breaking off the negotiation between the two kings, the earl of Pembroke married Diarmuidh's daughter, and, soon after, took possession of the kingdom of Leinster, upon his father-in-law's death, whom the Irish had surnamed Ningal, i. e. the stranger's friend.

After Diarmuidh's decease, the adventurers, perceiving that the terror of their arms was spread over the island, made farther advances, subduing Dublin and some other places, and committing great acts of cruelty wherever they came. It appears almost incredible that a nation so well peopled as Ireland, and heretofore so remarkable for a martial spirit, should make so faint an opposition to the progress of a handful of foreigners; but this supineness, or rather stupidity, is imputed to the dissensions and jealousies among the Irish princes, the cruelty of the English, and the terror the common Irish had conceived from the English cross-bows, the use of which, before this juncture, was altogether unknown to them, who had always fought hand to hand.

Henry had entertained hopes, that, by this time, the adventurers would have wanted his assistance, and so have furnished him with a pretence of coming into Ireland, in person, and completing the conquest of the whole island; but their extraordinary success rendering his aid unnecessary, he was afraid they should become entire masters of a country, which he designed for himself. In order, therefore, to oblige them to have recourse to him, he prohibited the exportation of provisions, or ammunition to Ireland, and commanded all his subjects to return from thence, pretending that the adventurers had engaged on this expedition without his leave; upon which, the earl of Pembroke and Robert Fitz-Stephen sent deputies to assure him of their obedience, and that all their present and future conquests should be at his disposal. This submission gave Henry entire satisfaction; and some time after, the king of England entered into an agreement with them, that all the sea-ports should be his, and the rest be enjoyed by the conquerors, to be held of him and his successors. The affair being thus settled, Henry, in the year 1172, came into Ireland, himself, with a formidable army, and landed at Waterford; upon which, the whole island voluntarily submitted to his authority; for, during his stay at Waterford, all the kings and bishops of Ireland arrived at his court, and strove, with emulation, who should be foremost in swearing him allegiance.

Thus, Henry, without spilling one drop of blood, acquired a kingdom; and having placed fresh garrisons in

Waterford, Wexford, Corke and Limerick, he proceeded to Dublin, where he made regulations for the government of his new acquisition; and quickly after embarked for England, leaving Hugh Lacy at Dublin, to govern the island, in his name, with the title of justiciary of Ireland. The princes of the island, however, retained the title of king for some time after, till the ambition of the English lords, by degrees, deprived them both of life and lands.

And thus ended the monarchy of the Milesians, or antient Irish, which commenced above two thousand five hundred years before, in the persons of Heber and Heremon, two of the sons of Milesius, king of Spain.

I shall now add a brief account of the most eminent men in the Irish church, that flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Dubdalehe, reader of divinity at Ardmagh, and afterwards archbishop of that see, wrote certain annals of Ireland, which are quoted by the author of the Ulster annals. He died the first of September ten hundred and sixty-four or ten hundred and sixty-five.

Marian, commonly called Marianus Scotus, a chronologer of the first rank, born in ten hundred and twenty-eight, turned monk in ten hundred and fifty-two, and in ten hundred and fifty-six exchanged his native soil of Ireland for that of Germany, where he shut himself up for near three years in St. Martin's convent in Cologne; he then retired for the space of ten years to the convent of Fuld, and in the interim was ordained priest, viz. in ten hundred and fifty-nine. And lastly he went to Mentz, in ten hundred and sixty-nine where he remained till he died in ten hundred and eighty-six, aged fifty-eight. He was famous for writing annotations on the scriptures, and several other learned pieces.

Teigernach, an Irish antiquarian, wrote the annals of Ireland to ten hundred and eighty-eight, as appears from an old author who continued the same, both which are extant in manuscript.

Mælisha O Suir, a Munsterman, was famous for writing some philosophical works. He died in ten hundred and ninety-nine.

Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, was appointed legate from the pope, at the council held in Ireland in the reign of Mortough O Bryen, the monarch, and wrote the state of the church at that time, viz. eleven hundred and fifteen.

Celsus or Celestin, and Cellac Mac Admac Maelisa, archbishop of Ardmagh, wrote a theological summary, published at Vienna, and some other pieces.

Malachy O Mongar, archbishop of Ardmagh, was famous for his prophecy relating to the popes that should succeed to the papal chair, after his time; these predictions are still extant, having been published by Arnold Wyon, and are a kind of riddles. He died in eleven hundred and fifty, at the monastery of Clareval, in France, and was after canonized by the pope. St. Bernard wrote his life.

Congan, a Cisterian monk, and afterwards abbot, lived in eleven hundred and fifty. It is said he wrote the life of St. Malachy, and the acts of St. Bernard; and by his means and persuasion, St. Bernard wrote the life of St. Malachy; as St. Bernard confesses in his preface to that work.

Murry, or Marian O Gorman, abbot of Knock near Louth, in eleven hundred and seventy-one, published a supplement to the martyrology of *Aneas*.

Maurice Regan, servant and interpreter to Diarmuidh king of Leinster, lived in eleven hundred and seventy-one, and wrote very carefully the affairs of Ireland, during his own time, now extant.

Concubran, wrote three books of the life of St. Moninna or St. Modwen, a virgin. The original is in the Cottonian library.

Eugene, bishop of Ardmore, wrote the life of St. Cuthbert, as appears from a manuscript touching the birth and rise of the said Cuthbert, extracted from the Irish histories, in the Cottonian library. He lived in eleven hundred and seventy-four.

A  
DISSERTATION

ON THE

*Laws, Customs, Manners and Language of the antient Irish.*

**A**s the Irish, at this day, are under the English government, and have been so for many ages, it would be in vain to look for their antient laws, customs and manners among them now. I shall, therefore, have recourse to their own histories, and those other authors, who have treated of the antient state of Ireland.

The Irish, or Milesians, under the conduct of Heber and Heremón, having conquered the Tuatha de Danans, cantoned the island among themselves, as has been related in the first book: upon which Heber and Heremón assumed jointly the title of monarch; but a dispute between the two brothers occasioning a rupture, which ended in the death of Heber, Heremón became sole monarch. We cannot find any positive proof, at the beginning of the Irish monarchy, whether it was elective or hereditary; but in all probability, it was elective, since the succession was frequently interrupted. Be that as it will, it is plain, it was elective in the provincial times, which began in the reign of Eochaidh Feidhlioch, who took possession of the throne, Anno Mundi three thousand nine hundred and forty, and so continued to the end of the monarchy; for even in the provincial kingdoms, the brother succeeded the king his brother often, although the deceased king left many children behind him; the younger brother was also sometimes preferred before the elder; and oftentimes in the monarchy, the family, late in possession, entirely laid aside.

Ollamh Fodhla, who began his reign A. M. three thousand eighty-two, is said to be the first monarch that instituted the royal assembly or parliament of Tarah, which

consisted of the nobility, priests, historians, and men of learning of all professions, assembled to enact laws for the good of the kingdom, to purge the public antiquities of error, and to redress the grievances of the people. In the provincial times every province had such assemblies, on which the king of the province had some dependence; yet nevertheless the assembly of Tarah determined the affairs of the whole body of the island.

This general assembly was held in a spacious building at Tarah, in the county of Meath; the apartment was very long and narrow, with a table in the middle and seats on both sides. At the end of this table and between the seats and the wall, there was a proper distance for the servants and attendants that belonged to the members, to go between and wait upon their masters.

Before the assembly entered upon public business, they were entertained with a magnificent feast, and the order in which every member took his place, was in this manner: When the dinner was upon the table, and the room perfectly cleared of all persons except the grand marshal, the principal herald and a trumpeter, whose offices required they should be within, the trumpeter sounded three times, observing a proper distance between every blast, which was the solemn summons for the members to enter. At the first sound all the shield bearers, that belonged to the princes and the nobility, came to the door, and there delivered their shields to the grand marshal, who, by the direction of the king at arms, had them hung up in their proper places. When he blew the second blast, the target-bearers that attended upon the general and commanding officers of the militia and army of the kingdom, advanced to the door, and delivered their targets in the same manner, which were also hung up in their proper places. Upon the third summons, all the members of the assembly entered the hall, and took their seats under their own shield or target, which were easily distinguished by the coat of arms blazoned on the outside of them; and thus the members were seated regularly without any dispute about precedence. The antiquarians and poets were placed at one end of the table, and at the other the officers of the court. When dinner was over, and every thing removed, the monarch being



seated on a throne in the middle of the room, with the king of Ulster on his right hand and the king of Munster on his left, the king of Leinster with his face towards him, and the king of Connaught behind the throne, with the nobility and gentry of each province near the kings they belonged to, the assembly immediately proceeded to business.

From what has been said, we may form a judgment of the government of the antient Irish, which was not unlike that established by the Anglo-Saxons in England. It was so far monarchical, as each kingdom had a particular king; and it was likewise aristocratical, as no laws were made, without the consent of the general assembly. But to give us a more clear and distinct light into the nature of their government, it will be requisite to take a view of the various orders and degrees of men among the antient Irish.

As for the monarch, or king, he had the power to appoint all officers both civil and military within his kingdom, except the militia, which was in the hands of the general assembly. He also had an extraordinary power in ecclesiastical affairs; for it is said by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, in the life of St. Livinus, that when Menalchus the archbishop was dead, Calomagnus the king of the Scots, and the troop of his officers with the under-courtiers, and the concourse of all that country, with the same affection of heart cried out, that the holy priest Livinus was most worthy to be advanced unto the honour of the order. The king more devout than all of them, consenting thereunto, three or four times placed the blessed man in the chair of the archbishoprick with due honour, according to the will of the Lord.

Another considerable prerogative of the kings was, that no laws could be made in the assemblies, without the royal assent, the executive power being committed to them. They had likewise a power to pardon malefactors, with respect to such offences as related to the public; but as to those which concerned private persons, the king's pardon did not prevent the offended party from insisting on satisfaction for the injuries he had received.

It does not appear, that it was absolutely in the power of the Irish kings to make war or peace, without the con-

sent of the states of the kingdom; since the case of Diarmuidh king of Leinster, mentioned in this book, demonstrate the contrary.

The king's revenues were divided into three branches. The first consisted in certain things the states supplied them with, for the support of their household, viz. corn, hay, cattle and the like, which were usually paid in kind. The second branch was the produce of the demesnes, or lands annexed to the crown, for public uses. The third branch, consisted in certain taxes, laid on the people, upon pressing occasions; by the assemblies. It must, however, be confessed, that many of their kings did stretch the prerogative royal, and rule in an arbitrary manner, contrary to the will of the assemblies. But at other times, we find them deposed for the ill use of their power, by these very assemblies.

We do not find that the monarchs or kings of Ireland were fond of pompous titles, the monarchs contenting themselves with the title of the whole island, and the kings with their respective provinces or kingdoms. It is true Mortough More styled himself king of the Scots, because he had suffered his brother, Feargus the Great, to be crowned king of the Scots of Albion, obliging him at the same time, to acknowledge a dependence on the monarchs of Ireland.

As for the coronation of the Irish kings, we cannot find any fixed time for that ceremony, either in the times of paganism or those of christianity. We find, however, in some Irish authors, the following ceremony observed in inaugurating the kings of the family of O Donnel: The king sat upon the summit of the hill, surrounded by the principal nobility and gentry of his country; and one of the chief of them advancing towards him, presented him with a strait white wand, saying, "Receive, O king, the command of thine own country, and distribute justice impartially among thy subjects." The rod being strait and white, recommended to the king uprightness in judgment, and also intimated to him, that he should rule with clean and unspotted hands, never staining them with the blood of his people. This ceremony being performed in the open air, resembles the custom used by many of the Saxon kings in England, who received the crown in the same manner.

As to the form of the crown, it is not certainly known, but in all probability each king wore one according to his fancy. In the year sixteen hundred and ninety two there was found in the county of Tipperary, by some labourers who were digging turf, at a place called the Devil's Bit, a golden cap, supposed to be a provincial crown. It weighed about five ounces; the border and the head were raised in chase work; and it seemed to bear some resemblance to the close crown of the Eastern empire, which was composed of the helmet joined with a diadem.

The queen was the next person in the state, though she had no concern in the government. And this title was common to all queens, whether they held their dignity, by virtue of their husband's right, or their own. We find but two queens in the Irish history, who governed in their own right, viz. Machad Mongruadh, queen of all Ireland, and Meidhbh, queen of Connaught.

The king's sons were the next in precedency; but in all probability it was only during the king their father's life-time, since it often happened that the children of the deceased king were laid aside. The same custom subsists still in Poland, where they give honour to the king's children only during their father's life.

The fourth degree, was that of the principal or heads of families or tribes, who were persons of the greatest distinction, being possessed of large estates, and therefore were called kings, because there were no other titles among the Irish till the arrival of the English. These administered justice to all persons belonging to their tribe or district, and were not unlike the elders of Israel, Moab and Midian, and those of ealdormen among the Anglo-Saxons. They had their brehons or lawyers, who acted in their several places, like to our recorders of cities or corporate towns, who were well versed in the laws of the country. These vast privileges of administering justice, being hereditary, made such a multitude of kings in Ireland; for every provincial king had so many kings under him, that in process of time they sometimes would deny their principals power, and oftentimes wage war with their sovereign, which occasioned great confusion in the state.

There were only two very important offices, or dignities, among the antient Irish, one civil, and the other

military. The first was that of chief justice of Ireland, who had the education of the king's children, and also administered justice, not unlike the lords chief justices of England and Ireland at present.

The other was the general of the militia or standing forces of the island, which officer was nominated by the general assembly, as the troops were for the defence of the whole body of the Irish. These forces were called in Irish, Fiana Eirion, from one Fionn Mac Cumhall, who

**was formerly general of them and had distinguished himself by his conduct and bravery. As to the other forces, they were generally commanded by their kings in person, it being the highest dishonour to the Irish princes not to appear at the head of their troops in the field of battle.**

The lowest rank among the Irish, were the merchants, artificers, countrymen, &c. who were equally free as to their persons, but not to their lands, which they could not alienate, as they were no more than farmers.

The lowest order among the people, were the slaves, or bondmen, who, it is said, were the descendants of the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danans, some of whom were, in the strictest sense, slaves, because they had no estates, and the principal of the Irish had the sole profit of their labour, who on that account, maintained them; but there were other slaves, who might properly be called servants, as they held small holdings, at the pleasure of their lords, in consideration of their doing such servile country works, as were prescribed them. There are such, as these last, still in Ireland, who are subject to great drudgery, and for the most part, severely treated by their landlords.

As to the manner of the administration of justice among the antient Irish, or of their laws, we have but very small accounts. The first express law we meet with, which was administered to the whole body of the island, was the law of retaliation, according to the Jewish system, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, &c. which was put in force in the time of Feidhlimhidh, who was surnamed Reachtmar, on account of introducing this equitable law. He began his reign as monarch in one hundred and thirteen. Towards the end of the monarchy, when the states were in the utmost confusion, all crimes were punishable by fines, lest the criminal should make

his escape to another province. This law was also in force among the English in the time of the Saxons, where the heads of all orders and degrees of men were valued, from the king to the slave.

The Irish were remarkable for their valour, by which they founded the kingdom of Scotland in Britain, and also gave even the Romans in that island, great disturbance, for they were inured to arms from their infancy, and it may be affirmed, that war was their only profession, before their conversion to christianity. But when they had received the gospel, they entirely left off ravaging their neighbours, and applied themselves to arts and sciences, and the propagating christianity in other countries, thereby gaining great reputation. However, they did not entirely quit arms, for the spirit was still kept up by their civil dissensions. The sword, battle-axe, spear and javelin were their usual military weapons; and as they did not use bows and arrows, in the latter part of their monarchy, their battles were both desperate and bloody. It is certain that towards the decline of their kingdom they were often defeated by the Danes and Norwegians, and, at length, by the English; but it might be justly alleged in their favour, that it was mostly owing to their own private quarrels. However, there are few nations, how valiant soever, that have not met with the like vicissitudes, and revolutions. A coward was looked upon, among the Irish, to be the most ignominious character, and their high opinion of martial valour was the reason, why it was so very difficult to bring about a reconciliation after a quarrel, as sufficiently appears by their history. As each party dreaded the epithet of coward, should he make the first overtures of peace, the quarrel continued from father to son, and very seldom ended, but with the entire extinction of one of the families. 'Tis no wonder, then, that the Irish, who were of so warlike a temper, being also from their childhood, accustomed to fear neither blows nor wounds, and on all occasions animated by the examples of their friends and relations, should encounter dangers, and even stare death in the face, with the greatest resolution and intrepidity. For these reasons we may truly affirm that no nation was ever more remarkable for their bravery than the antient Irish; and this is their dis-

linguising character this day in every nation on earth, where they have been engaged in a military life, either by land or sea.\*

The Irish were extremely devoted to religion, even before their conversion to christianity, holding their druids or priests in the greatest veneration; and no sooner had they embraced the gospel, than they discovered the same disposition, which they shewed by a ready compliance with the dictates of their first teachers. Vast multitudes immediately forsook the world to embrace a monastic life;

so that Ireland soon abounded with monasteries, and their fame spread over Europe, insomuch, that persons of royal birth, and great numbers of every other rank, undertook a voluntary exile in order to study in them. But these monasteries, were different from those which were afterwards erected in their room by the English; for every member was obliged to work for his daily bread, as well as to fast and to pray, and also to relieve the poor, according to the custom of the ancient fathers, as Bede relateth in the life of St. Cuthbert; and according to this rule did all the monasteries abroad, that were founded by the Irish, which were many. The extraordinary reputation Ireland gained by the surprising sanctity of its inhabitants, and its being as it were a seminary of learning to all Europe, gave occasion to its being called the island of Saints. It was then thought sufficient to be an Irishman, or to have been in Ireland, to be considered as a saint, or at least of sufficient consequence to become founder of a monastery; so true it is, that heaven seemed to shower down its graces and blessings upon Ireland, whither other nations resorted to partake of them, as to a plentiful and inexhaustible source.†

The Irish language was originally Scythian, which was digested and methodised by order of Feniusa Farsa, king of Scythia, soon after the confusion of languages at Babel, according to the antient historians; but in process of time several words from most languages were introduced into it, which makes it differ very much from the original,

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\* For a proof of this assertion, see the Defence of the Courage, Honor and Loyalty of the Irish Nation.

† See a Treatise on the Religion professed by the antient Irish.

which is said to be free from all corruption, and but known to very few at this day. Be this as it will, the present Irish language, even at this time, is allowed to be both beautiful and expressive, by all those who understand it: I shall say no more upon this head, as it is a language almost unknown to any but natives, but conclude with what the judicious Rapin says of it, "that the original Irish language is very uncertain, since it differs in all respects, even in the very form of its letters, from those of the neighboring nations."

THE  
GENEALOGIES  
OF THE  
**ANTIENT IRISH.**

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*The Posterity of Heber Fionn, the eldest son of Milesius,  
king of Spain, that left issue.*

The pedigree of Mac Car-  
ty More.

DANIEL, the first earl, son  
of

Daniel an Dromuin,  
Cormac Laighrach,

Teigh Liath,

Daniel an Dana,

Teige na Mainistreach,

Daniel. From Diarmuidh  
More his brother des-  
cended the noble lords of  
Muskery, and Eogan of  
Buirid Mainge, from  
whom the Mac Carty of  
Cluan Maolain; and Mo-  
lahif descended.

Cormac,

Daniel Oge, from whom  
descended Clan Daniel  
Roe. From Diarmuidh  
Trallee, another brother  
of Daniel, descended the  
Mac Finneens, and the  
Cartys of Glan Etought.

R

Daniel Roe,

Cornac Fionn, from whom  
descended the Mac Car-  
tys of Alla, and kings of  
Desmond, and from Dan-  
iel, his brother, Mac  
Carty Riabhach. From  
this Cormac also descen-  
ded the Cartys of Duth-  
alla, and the Mac Do-  
noghhs, the Mac Daniels  
in Barritts, Clan Daniel  
Fionn, and the Cartys of  
Aglais.

Daniel More na Carra, from  
whose son Daniel Oge  
sprang Mac Carty Reagh.  
Diarmuidh na Cille Baine  
called king of Cork, was  
the first that submitted  
to Henry II. From him  
descended Teige Roe na  
Sgairte.

Cormac king of Munster.  
From his brother Tiege



- descended the Mac Auliffes.
- Muireodhach,  
 Carthach, from whom the Mac Cartys took the name.
- Justin. From his brother Morrough descended the family of O Callaghan.
- Donough,  
 Callaghan Cashel,  
 Buadhachan,  
 Lachtna,  
 Artgaile,  
 Sneadhusa. From Fogarach his brother, descended the family of the Fionn-guinn.
- Dougale. From him descended the Riordans in the seventh generation.
- Daolgusa,  
 Nadfraoch,  
 Colgon,  
 Failbhe Flann. From Florence his brother, descended the family of O Sullivan More, and O Sullivan Beara. It is said that this Florence was the elder brother of Failbhe.
- Aodh Dubh,  
 Criomhthan,  
 Feidhlim. From Eochaidh his brother descended the family of O Keeffe, and from another brother whose name was Eana, the antient family of O Daly in Munster.
- Aongus,  
 Nadfraoch, from whose son descended O Lyne, Irish O Laidhin. From Cas the brother of this Nadfraoch, descended the following families of O Donoghoe More, and O Donoghoe of Glinn, and all the tribes and septs of the O Mahonys in the counties of Cork and Kerry. From Cairnre Luachra, the family of the Moriartys.
- Corc,  
 Luichneach. From Daire Cearb his brother, descended the antient families of O Donovan, O Conaill, and O Cuilleán in Cairbry. From Fiacha Figinte, son to the said Daire, sprang the Hehirs Meighans, Davorents, O Treasaigh, and O Garvan.
- Oilioll Flan Beag,  
 Fiachadh Muilleathan,  
 Eogan More,  
 Oilioll Olum. From this Oilioll Olum's spreading branches descended the following families according to the Munster annals, viz. O Shea, Shealbach, Maothains, Giarains, Croneens, and Glaimhins, &c.
- Modha Nuagat,  
 Modha Neid,  
 Deirgthine,  
 Eanda Modchaoín,

Loich More,  
Mofeibhis,  
Muireadhach Muchna,  
Eochaidh Garbh,  
Duach Donn Dalta Deag-  
hadh,  
Cairbre Luisgleathan,

**Luigheach Luaigne,**  
**Fionadmhar,**  
**Niadhseadhmain,**  
**Adamar Foltchaoín,**  
**Firchorb,**  
**Modhchorb,**  
**Cobhthaig Coamh,**  
**Reachta Rioghdearg,**  
**Luigheach Laige,**  
**Eachach,**  
**Oileolla Fionn,**  
**Art,**  
**Luigheach Lamhdearg,**  
**Eochach Vairceas,**  
**Luigheach Jarduinn,**  
**Eana Dearg,**  
**Duach Fionn,**  
**Seadhna Jonraic,**  
**Breas Riogh,**  
**Art Imlioch,**  
**Feidhlime,**  
**Rothachtach,**  
**Roan,**  
**Failbhe,**  
**Cas Cead Chaingeach,**  
**Failderoid,**  
**Muineamoin,**  
**Cas Clotach,**  
**Airireo Arda,**  
**Rotheachtach,**  
**Rosa,**  
**Glas,**  
**Faobhar Glass,**  
**Conmaol,**  
**Heber Fionn**

Milesius, king of Spain,  
Bille, king of Spain,  
Bratha,  
Deagatha, lord of Gothia,  
Allord, lord of Gothia,  
Nuagati, lord of Gothia,  
Neannuall, lord of Gothia,

**Faobhar Glass, lord of Go-**  
**thia,**  
**Heber Clann Fionn, lord**  
**of Gothia,**  
**Lamhfionn,**  
**Adnamoin,**  
**Tait,**  
**Ogamhain,**  
**Beogamhuin,**  
**Heber Scot,**  
**Sru,**  
**Eafu,**  
**Gadelas,**  
**Niull,**  
**Feniusa Farsa, king of Sey-**  
**thia, and first founder of**  
**the universal schools at**  
**the plain of Magh Sea-**  
**nair.**  
**Baath,**  
**Magog,**  
**Japhet,**  
**Noah, &c.**

---

'The present earl of Clancarty's Pedigree to Cormac, father of the first lord Muskery.

ROBERT,  
Donough,  
Cellaghan

Donough,  
Cormac Oge, first lord vis-  
count Muskery.

Cormac. From him de-  
scended Teige, ancestor  
of the Cartys of Aglais,  
and Daniel, ancestor of  
the Cartys of Carrignar-  
var.

Diarmuidh; he was ances-  
tor of the Cartys of Insi-  
rahell.

Teige. From him descend-  
ed Cormac, who was lord  
Muskery seven years,  
and ancestors of the Car-  
tys of Court Break, and  
to Charles Mac Carty of  
Bailea Castle More, and  
Clough Roe.

Cormac Oge Ladir,

Cormac Ladir,

Teige, who was ancestor to  
the Cartys of Drishane.

Cormac,

Diarmuidh More, first lord  
Muskery. From him de-  
scended Feilim, ancestor  
of the Cartys of Tuath  
na Droman, and Do-  
nough, ancestor of the  
Cartys of Cloinfada.

Cormac Mac Carty More.

From his son Owen, de-  
scended the Cartys of Cois  
Maing, and from Donough,  
the Cartys of Ardcanaghty.  
Vide Mac Carty More's  
Pedigree.

O Sullivan More's Pedi-  
gree to Oilíoll Olum.

DANIEL the son of Owen  
Roe,  
Daniel,  
Daniel,  
Daniel na Sgreaduidhe,  
Daniel,

Roger. This Roger had a  
brother named Macrath,  
from whom the Macraths  
of Capanacoissy got the  
name.

Dunlaing,  
Buadhaigh,  
Bearnard,  
Murtough the Great,  
Dunlaing,  
Giolla Mucoda, aqo the  
name.

Daniel the Great,  
Maccrath,  
Buadhaig,  
Cathal,  
Hugh.

Buadhaig from Achro,  
Lorcan,  
Sullivan, from whom the  
name derived.

Maollura,  
Eighiren,  
Morrough,  
Dubhfionracht,  
Flann Robba,  
Fiacha the Champion,  
Seaghnusy,  
Florence,  
Hugh Dubh,  
Criomthan,

Feidhlim,  
 Aongus,  
 Nadfraoch,  
 Corc,  
 Luighheach,  
 Fiacha Muilleathan,  
 Eogan More,  
 Oilioll Olum,  
 The worthy family of the  
 Maccrehohans descended  
 from O Sullivan More,  
 &c.

The Pedigree of William  
 O Bryen, earl of Inche-  
 quin, with the spreading  
 branches of Cormac Cas,  
 second son of Oilioll O-  
 lum.

WILLIAM the son of Wil-  
 liam,  
 William,  
 Morrough, first earl,  
 Diarmuidh,  
 Morrough,  
 Morrough,  
 Diarmuidh, first lord baron  
 of Inchequin,  
 Morrough,  
 Turlough,  
 Teige an Condaig,  
 Turlough,  
 Bryen Cathaneny, from  
 whom descended the O  
 Bryens of Cumragh,  
 Mahon. From Connor his  
 son descended the O  
 Bryens of Carrig O Gai-  
 niol.  
 Murriertagh,

Turlough,  
 Teige Caoluisge. From a  
 brother of his descend-  
 ed O Bryen Roe.

Connor na Siubhdain,  
 Donough Cairbreach,  
 Daniel More, the last king  
 of Cashel and Limerick,  
 from whom descended  
 Considins and Lysagt,  
 in Irish, Giolla Jasachta.

Turlough.

Diarmuidh, from whose  
 eldest brother Mortough  
 descended Mac Mahon  
 of Thomond.

Turlough.

Teige. From a brother of  
 this Teige descended the  
 O Bryens of Cuanach  
 and Eatherlach.

Bryen Boiroimhe, monarch  
 of Ireland in 1027. From  
 this Bryen descended the  
 O Bryens. He had ele-  
 ven brothers, but only  
 three left issue, viz. Dun-  
 chain, Eichiaruin, and  
 Mahon. From Mahon de-  
 scended O Beolin, Casies  
 in Irish, O Cathasaig; O  
 Spelain; O Hanraighain,  
 O Sindhaichain, in Eng-  
 lish Sihan; Maceiniry, O  
 Congalaigh, and O Tu-  
 ama, in English, Two-  
 my. Dunchain had six  
 sons, viz. two Kennedys,  
 Riagain, Longargan, Cei-  
 liochair, and Congalagh;  
 from one of the Kenne-  
 dys descended the Conu-

ings, and from the other O Kennedy; from Longargan the Longargians; from Ceiliochair the Ceiliochairs; and from Riagan the Riagains. From Eichiaruin descended the Hems, in Irish, Eichiaruins, and Magraths.

Kennedy,

Lorcan. From Consgrach, a son of this Lorcan, descended the following families, viz. O Hogain, O Shennaghan, by some called Fox, the Healys, the Murrays, the Glothiards, and the Aingiodhas.

Laghtna,

Corc

Anluan,

Mahon,

Turlough, from whose son Ailgema, descended O Meadra, in English, Mary; also the Arthurs, in Irish, Arturaigh

Cathal,

Aodh Caomh, from whom the Henraghtys descended.

Conall,

Eochaidh Ball Dearg, from whom descended O Hicky, in Irish, O Hicidhe.

Carthan Fionn, from whose son Aongus descended the following families, viz. Lonsy, in Irish, Loinnigh, Sexton, in Irish, Seasnain, Huainin, Cor-

muchain, Riady, Slatry, Breachta, and Tomraig, &c.

Bloid, from whose son Brennan descended the Hurllys, Mollownys, and Kearns, &c.

Cais. This Cais had twelve sons, from Bloid sprung the eldest stock; from Caisin the noble family of Siol Aodha, i. e. Macnemara, from whom descended the Gradys, Clancys, and Clan Caisin; from Aongus Ceann Atrach, descended O Dea and Brady, in Irish, Mac Bruaideagha; from Aongus Ceann Aitinn, the Hiffernans, the Neaghtains, in English, Nortons, and the Hartagans; from Aodh descended Mac Cochlain; from Loiscionn, the Dobharchons, and the Conraois, in English called by some after the name of King, also O Cuin in Thomond; from Dealbhaoth descended Mac Leime, Ainle, Assiodha, Macanerhinig, in Irish, Macanshairchine, OMulquiny, in Irish, O Mulchaoine, and the O Heafies in the county of Limerick.

Conull Eachluath,

Luigheach Mean,

Aongus Tirigh,

Firchuirb,  
 Modha Cuirb.  
 Cormac Cas  
 Oilíoll Olum,  
 Vide Mac Carty More's  
 Pedigree.



The Pedigree of Mac Mahon of Thomond to Bryen Boiroimhe, monarch of Ireland.

TEIGE, the son of Turlough Rhe,  
 Teige,  
 Turlough,  
 Teige Oge,  
 Teige More,  
 Donogh na Glaice.  
 Ruadhrighe Buidhe,  
 Diarmuid,  
 Donogh Carrach,  
 Murcuadh na Niongnadh.  
 This Murrough was taken away by a navy from Corca Baiscin, and was never heard of since. He left no more issue after him, but the said Donogh Corrach ago the Mac Mahons.  
 Morrough,  
 Mahon, from whom the Mac Mahons are so called.  
 Turlough,  
 Teige,  
 Bryen Boiroimhe,  
 Vide O'Bryen's Pedigree.

The Pedigree of Macnemara of Ros Roe.

DANIEL, Donogh and Teige the sons of Siodha Macnemara,  
 Florence,  
 Florence,  
 Lochloinn,  
 Florence,  
 Siodha Cam,  
 Mac Con,  
 Conmeadha.  
 Mac Con,  
 Lochluinn,  
 Conmeadha More,  
 Niall,  
 Conmara,  
 Donal,  
 Conmara, from whom the Macnemaras took that name.  
 Eana,  
 Aissia  
 Siodha an Eich Buidhe;  
 Maolcluiste,  
 Coilean,  
 Urthoile,  
 Dungoile,  
 Eogan,  
 Athluinn,  
 Feargail,  
 Cartach,  
 Caisin,  
 Cais,  
 Conull Eachluath,  
 Luigheach Mean,  
 Aongus Tirigh,  
 Firchnirb,  
 Modha Chuirb,

Cormac Cas,  
Oilioll Olum.

name, and also Elly the  
Royal was called Elly O  
Carroll, to distinguish it  
from all others.

Sir Daniel O Carroll's Ped-  
igree, to Oilioll Olum.

DANIEL and John, sons  
of

Daniel,

John,

Daniel,

Donough,

Kian,

Thady,

Donough,

Mulruany,

John had two sons, Mulru-  
any, and Donough the  
eldest.

Mulruany,

Thady,

Thady,

Rogar,

Mulruany,

Thady,

Finn,

Guillanbhealluig,

Donough the Great, king  
of Elly, and Oirgiall in  
the North. He founded  
the famous abbey of Mel-  
lisont, one at Newry, and  
Cnocknasingan abbey.

Mulruan,

Finn,

Donall,

Rioghhradan,

Concairne,

Maounigh,

Carroll, from whom this  
antient family took the

Hugh,

Dubblaor,

Cnamhin,

Maonuigh,

Seachnusach,

Aingeadha,

Maolruana,

Ultan,

Ailtine,

Lonainn,

Indigh,

Feigh,

Tail,

Meaghair,

Amruidh,

Druidh,

Eile Rioghdearg the Royal  
from whom the country  
got the name.

Eirc,

Sabhornuigh,

Jomgoin, from whose bro-  
ther Teige sprang O  
Connor Cianachta.

Fionchaidh, from whose  
brother descended the  
noble family of O Meag-  
hair,

Conla.

Teige, who had another  
son called Cormac Gai-  
leang, from whom sprang  
the noble families of O  
Hara, O Gara, as also a  
family of the O Flana-  
gans, Dulchontas, Cor-  
crans, and a sept of the  
O Casies.

Kein,  
Oilioll Olum,

Vide Mac Carty More's  
Pedigree.



*The posterity of Ir, the son of Milesius, king of Spain, that left issue, viz. Conall Cearnach and Feargus son of Rosa Roe, with their spreading branches.*

### The Pedigree of Mageniz.

Art Roe, the son of  
Aodha.

Donall Oge,  
Donall More,  
Aodha,

Art,  
Aodha,  
Art na Madhman,  
Mortough Riaganach,  
Eachmileadh,

Roger,  
Giolla Colluim,  
Duibhinnsi,

Aodha Ramhar,  
Flathbheartach,  
Eachmileadh,  
Aongus,

Aodha,  
Eachmileadh,  
Aongus Oge,  
Aongus More, from whom  
Mageniz took that name.

Eideadha,  
Laignein,  
Blathmhac,  
Donall,  
Connor,  
Breasal Bealdearg,  
Aodhain

Mongain,

Sarain,

Maine,

Fothaigh,

Connall, from whose brother Saran, sprang Mac Cartain.

Caolbhaig,  
Croin Badhraoi,  
Eachach, from whom Jobh Eachach got the name.

Luigheach,

Rosa,

Jomehadha,

Feidhlim,

Cais,

Fiachadh Aruidh, from whom Dail Aruidhe got that name.

Aongus Gaibhnion, from whom sprang Mac an Gaibhnion, in English, Smith, according to Mageniz' annals.

Feargus Gaileang,

Tiobruide Tirigh,

Breasal Breac,

Cirb Mail,

Rochraoidh,

Cathbhuidh,

Giallachadh,



Dunchadh,  
Fionchadh,  
Muireadhach,  
Fiachadh Fionamhnais,  
Irial Glunmear,

Connal Cearnach, from  
Laoiseach Cean More,  
another son of Connall,  
sprang the noble family  
of O Mordha, in English,  
More, who were kings  
and lords of Leix; from  
the said Connall sprang  
likewise Mac Giollariab-  
haig, Mac an Bharid, and  
the Lawlors.

Amergin,  
Cais,  
Fachnta,  
Cathbhadh,  
Cionga,  
Roger Magnus, from whose  
other son, Rosa Roe,  
sprang Feargus, son of  
Rosa Roe.

Sithridh,  
Doubh,  
Fomhor,  
Airgiodmar,  
Siorlamh,  
Finn,  
Bratha,  
Labhradho,  
Cairbre,  
Ollamh Fodhla,  
Fiachadh Fionnsgothach,  
Seadhna Airt,  
Airtri,  
Eibhric,  
Eibher,  
Ir,  
Milesius, king of Spain,

Vide Mac Carty More's  
Pedigree.



The Pedigree of O Connor  
Kerry.

JOHN O Connor, son of  
Connor Bacach,  
Connor Fionn,  
Donnor,  
John,  
Connor,  
Connor,  
Connor,  
Diarmuid,  
Mahon,  
Diarmuidh Sluagach,  
Mahon,  
Corc,  
Beathaig,  
Connor,  
Cathal,  
Aodha,  
Teige,  
Roger,  
Conluachra,  
Diarmuid,  
Connor,  
Finn,  
Maolseachluin,  
Floin Fearna,  
Colman,  
Cobthaig,  
Reabtabhrach,  
Maoltuile,  
Aodha,  
Durtachta,  
Seanuig,  
Reathach,  
Fearba,  
Jomchadha;

Eibhric,  
 Mochduine,  
 Ulaimh,  
 Meisincon,  
 Sabhala,  
 Modha Airt,  
 Oribhsionmar,  
 Eochadha,  
 Artri,  
 Aghnamuin,  
 Fiamhuin,  
 Dealbhnaoi,  
 Eana,  
 Lainne,  
 Ulsaigh,  
 Tamhain,  
 Ciar,

Feargus. This Feargus had three sons of great valour; the first and eldest was Ciar, who obtained a large territory of land, in the county of Kerry, so called from him, and from him sprang the families of O Connor kings of Kerry, the Seanlans and the Brosnaghans. From Corc, the second son, descended O Connor kings of Coreamroe, O Loughlinn, kings of Buirinn, and the families O Cathil, Conway, in Irish, Condhubb, Casie, in

Irish, Caisfniagh. Tierney, in Irish, O Tiaghurna, Nestor, in Irish, Macanaistir, O Marcachain, and O Tyn, and the Hargans and Flathertys of Thomond. From Conmac, the third son of Feargus, sprang the noble family O Farrill, kings of Upper Conmhaicne, now county of Longford, Ranalds, in Irish, Magranuill kings of lower Conmhaicne, and Dorcy, in Irish, Magdhorchuidh, Mac Eochaidh, O Huallachain, Mac Sheanloich, O Morain, O Rodachain, in English, O Rody, O Dubhain, in English, Duan, Mac Anoglaioich, O Maining, Gilmer, in Irish, Macgiollainhir. From Ir also sprang Kenny, in Irish, O Cionnuidhe, otherwise called Mac na Cheanuadh, Kennelly, in Irish, O Cionnfhaoladh, Keithernys, in Irish, Ceatherna, and Mac Eochaidh in Leinster, and Carrolans. &c.

*The posterity of Heremon, youngest son of Milesius, king of Spain, that left issue, viz. Laogaire Lorc and Cobthaig Caolbreag, the only sons of Ugaine More.*

The Pedigree of the great O Neill, down to Heremon, with all his spreading branches.

JOHN,  
Hugh,  
Feardorcha,  
Counn Bacach,  
Henry,  
Eogan. The posterity of Feidhlim Roe parts here with O Neill.  
Niall Oge,  
Niall More,  
Aodha,  
Donall,  
Bryen Chatha na Duin,  
Niall Roe,  
Aodha an Maccaomh Toinleas,  
Mortough Moigh Line,  
Teige Glinne,  
Connor na Fiodhga,  
Donall an Togdamh,  
Aodha Athlamh, from whose son Donnesleibhe sprang Mac Suidhne Fannat, and from him sprang Mac Swyny Dtuath and Mac Swyny Badhuine.  
Flathbhertach an Tosdain,  
Mortough Midhig,

Donall Ardmagh, from whose brother Aodha sprang Clan Aodha Bhu-idhe, by others Mac Boyes.

Mortough na Gcochall  
Gcroiceann,  
Niall Glundubh,  
Aodha Fionliath,  
Niall Caille,  
Aodha Dorndighe,  
Niall Frasaich, from whose brother Connor, sprang O Kean, in Irish, O Cathain.

Feargaile,  
Maolile Duin,  
Maol Firthig,  
Aodha Uairiodhnsch,  
Donall Ilchealgach,  
Mortough, from whose brother Maine, sprang O Gormleaghadh.

Muireadhach,  
Eogan. From this Eogan, sprang the illustrious family of O Neill, kings of Tir Eogain, in English, Tyrone, O Heodhasa, O Conallain, O Craoibhe, in English Creagh, Mul-lineaux, in Irish Moalgain, O Maolimhicil, in

English, Mulvihill, Horan, in Irish, Clan Odhrain. The said Eogan had five sons that had issue, viz. Muireadhach, Oilioll, Feargus, Feidlim, and Eochaidh Binnig; from Mortough, son of Muireadhach, sprang Maghlachluin, in English Mac Laughlin; from Mongan another son, descended the Donallys; and from Feargall another son, sprang the Calfields, in Irish, Cathmhaoil; from Oiliolla, son of Eogan, sprang Mac Giolla Kelly; and from Feidhlim, another son, sprang O Dubhdhiarma, &c.

Niall of the nine hostages from whose sons sprang the following families, viz. from Laogaire, O Conlivan, in Irish, O Caoindhealbhair; from Maine, the Sionach, O Hagain, O Roanain, Mac Conmeadha, in English, Mac Conmeie, Ui Ineirge, Slamhains, Mulconry, in Irish, Maolchoinaire, Ciobhliochains, Shiels, Cathalains, Breens in Irish, Muintir Bhraoin, Murrys, Cardhamhaa, O Cuinn, O Taidhgain, O Roanain, and Deignain, in Irish, Dubhgeanain. From Conall Gul-

ban, the renowned family of O Donnel kings of Tyrconnel, and from O Donnel sprang O Doharty, O Galaghar, and O Boyle, in Irish, O Buidhill. From Conall Creamthine, sprang O Maol-leachuin; and from Fiachadha, another son of Niall, descended O Mulloy, O Maolmhúadh, Ma-geoghagan, and the Mac Cuillins, in Irish, Sliocht Geoilin, and O Huiginn.

Eochaidh Moighmeoidhoir  
Muireadhach Tirigh,  
Fiacha Sreabhthuinn,  
Cairbre Liffechair,  
Cormac Ulfhada,  
Art Aonfhir,  
Cona Cead Chathach,  
Feidhlime Reachtmair,  
Tualthal Teachtmair,  
Fiachadh Fionnóla,  
Fearadhach Fionn,  
Criomthan Niadhnar,  
Lugh Riabhndearg,  
Mac na trii Bfineamhna,  
Eochaidh Feidhlioch,  
Finn,  
Finlogha,  
Roighnein Roe,  
Easamuin Eamna,  
Blathachta,  
Labra Luirc,  
Eadhda Aighnach,  
Aongus Tuirmheach,  
Eochaidh Foltleathan,  
Oiliolla Causfhialach  
Conla Cruadh-Chealgach,  
Jaran Gleosathach,

Meilge Molbthach,  
 Cobthaig 'Caolbreag,  
 Ugaine More,  
 Duach Laighrach,  
 Fiacha Tolgrach,  
 Muireadhac Bolgrach,  
 Simeon Breac,  
 Aodham Glas,  
 Nuadha Fionnsail,  
 Giallcha,  
 Oiliolla Olchaoín,  
 Siorna Saogalach,  
 Dein Rotheachtaig,  
 Maoín,  
 Aongus Olmuchaídh,  
 Fiacha Labhruine,  
 Smiorguill,  
 Eanbhotha,  
 Tiaghernmas,  
 Follain,  
 Eithrial,  
 Irial Faídh,  
 Heremon,  
 Milesius, king of Spain,  
 Vide Mac Carty More's pedigree.

— — — — —  
 O Donnell's pedigree.

AODHA; the son of Roger,  
 Aodha,  
 Maghnus,  
 Aodha Dubh,  
 Aodha Roe,  
 Niall Gatb,  
 Turlough an Fhiona,  
 Niall Garbh,  
 Aodha  
 Donnel Oge,  
 Donnel More,

Eigneachain,  
 Donough,  
 Donnel,  
 Aodha,  
 Teige,  
 Conn,  
 Cathbhar,  
 Giolla Criest,  
 Cathbhar,  
 Donnel, from whom O Donnel took that name.

Eigneachain,  
 Dalaig, from whom O Daly in Connaught took the name; others call them Sioll Ndala.

Mortough. This Mortough had two brothers, viz. Maolduin, from whom sprang the O Boyles, and from Fianan, O Doharty.

Feargus,  
 Seadhna,  
 Feargus Ceannfada,  
 Seadhna,  
 Conall Gulban,  
 Niall of the nine hostages.  
 Eochaidh Moighmeoidhoin.

This Eochaidh had five sons, viz. Bryen, Fiacha, Oilioll, and Feargus, who were the four sons of Mongfine daughter of Fiodhaig; the fifth son was Niall of the nine hostages: his mother was Carionn Cosdubh, daughter to the king of Britain; and though Niall was the youngest of five, yet he was allowed the first place in genealogy, in

regard he was the most powerful, and that of his posterity there were more monarchs of Ireland than of the other two brothers than had issue. Feargus and Oilioll died issueless, and the two brothers that

left issue, which were Bryen and Fingara, we will trace their respective genealogies, as followeth.

The Pedigree of O Connor Roe, wherein all the posterity of Bryen, son of Eochaidh Moighmeoidhoín, will be included.

CATHAL OGE, the son of Aodha,  
Turlough Roe,  
Teige Boye,  
Cathal Roe,  
Teige,  
Turlough Roe,  
Aodha,  
Feidhlimidh, from whose brother Turlough descended the noble family of O Connor Donn.

Aodha,  
Eogan,  
Roger,  
Aodha,  
Cathal Crobhdearg,  
Turlough More. This Turlough had five sons which had issue, viz. Cathal Crobhdearg, from whom sprang the noble

families O Connor Roe and O Connor Donn; from Bryen Laighneach, O Connor Sligoe; from Aodha Dail, O Gealbhuide; from Maghnus, Mac Maghnus of Tirtuathail; and from Connor

na Midhe descended Clan Con Aifne.

Roger na Soighbuidhe,  
Aodha na Gaibhearnuig,  
Teige an Eich Gil, from whose son Mulruany descended the famous family Mac Diarmuidh of Moighluirg, from whom sprang Mac Donough of Coruinn and Tir Oiliolla.

Cathal,  
Connor, from whose brother Teige the family of the Teiges descended,  
Teige,  
Cathal,  
Connor,  
Teige More,  
Muirgoiosa, from whose son Cathal sprang Ma Oiriochtaig.

Tumaltagh,  
Jonarghtagh, from whom sprang O Birn.  
Muireadhach Nuilleathan, from whom descended O Flanagan Maol Beanoin, and O Maol Mocheirge; from Feargus another son, descended Mac Samhragain.

Ragallach,  
Uadhach.

Aodha, from whom descended O Flynn.	<b>Mageoghagan's Pedigree</b>
Eochaidh Tiormcharna,	<b>CONNOR and Conly, the</b>
Fergus, from whose son	<b>sons of</b>
Feargna sprang the noble families of O Rourke	<b>Calbhach,</b>
kings of Breisne, O Reilly, in Irish, O Raghallagh, kings of Caven,	<b>Conly,</b>
from whom descended the Rahillys, also from	<b>Conuill,</b>
Feargna, the noble families of O Donnellan,	<b>Neill,</b>
Cosnamha and the Mac Tighernains; from Duach Teangamha another	<b>Roffa,</b>
son, sprang O Flaherty	<b>Conly,</b>
king of Jar Conacht.	<b>Connor,</b>
<b>Muireadhach Mail,</b>	<b>Iaignigh,</b>
<b>Eogan Sreibh,</b>	<b>Conly,</b>
<b>Duach Gallach,</b>	<b>Hugh Boye,</b>
<b>Bryen, from whose son</b>	<b>Diarmuidh,</b>
Giriosoin sprang the noble family O Mayly; from	<b>Donough,</b>
Earca Dearg, another	<b>Mortough,</b>
son, Mac Branán and	<b>Congalach,</b>
Hanly; and from the	<b>Congalach,</b>
said Bryen sprang Mac	<b>Mortough,</b>
Teige, Mogoireachtaig,	<b>Donough,</b>
Cruadhlaoch, in English,	<b>Congalach Oge,</b>
O Crowley, O Concheanain, O Fionnagain, O	<b>Congalach More,</b>
Hallurain, O Muirghesa, Mac Brady, Garvy,	<b>Mortough.</b>
in Irish, O Gairbshia, O	<b>Concalma,</b>
Flanagan, O Floin, Line,	<b>Concoigchrithe,</b>
Fahy, in Irish, O Fathaig, Cnamhlin, O Breislein, and Mac Hugh, &c.	<b>Congalach,</b>
	<b>Mortough,</b>
	<b>Maolseachluinn,</b>
	<b>Cosgrach,</b>
	<b>Anluain,</b>
	<b>Congalach;</b>
	<b>Donough,</b>
	<b>Morough,</b>
	<b>Amalgach,</b>
	<b>Floin,</b>
	<b>Eathach,</b>
	<b>Eochaidh.</b>
	<b>Eochaidh,</b>
	<b>Criomhthán,</b>

Giolla Colluin,  
 Amalgach,  
 Roger,  
 Ineirge,  
 Eochagain, from whom  
 Mageoghagan took the  
 name.  
 Cosgrach,  
 Amulgach,  
 Tuathal,  
 Fiachadh,  
 Nial of the nine hostages,  
 monarch of Ireland.



Vide O'Neill's Pedigree.  
 O Sheagnasy's Pedigree, of  
 the posterity of Fiacha,  
 son of Eochaidh Moigh-  
 meodhoin.

DIARMUID, the son of Ro-  
 ger,  
 Diarmuid,  
 Giolla Dubh,  
 Diarmuid,  
 Willam,  
 John,  
 Owen,  
 Giolla no Naomh,  
 Roger,  
 Gialla na Naomh,  
 Randle,  
 Guibuidhe,  
 Sheagnasy, from whom O  
 Sheagnasy took the  
 name.  
 Donough,  
 Connidhe,  
 Fearguli,  
 Maolciarain,  
 Cais,

Maoltuile,  
 Siothmaine,  
 Nochba,  
 Eaghno,  
 Gabhran,  
 Tobhuigh Branán.  
 Broinleath Dearg,  
 Morrough,  
 Aodh,  
 Artgoile, from whose son  
 Ardgál, sprang O Dowd,  
 O Heyn, Killkelly, O  
 Cearaigh, O Cleirigh, O  
 Fahy, O Braonain of Ci-  
 neal, Aodha, Muintir,  
 Chomaltain, Keady, in  
 Irish, Muintir Cheadaig,  
 and the Caffuogs, in Irish  
 Muintir Chathmhogha,  
 &c.

Guarie and Oinigh,  
 Colman,  
 Cobhthaig,  
 Gabhneoin,  
 Conull,  
 Eogan,  
 Eochaid Breac, from whom  
 sprang Muintir Chrea-  
 chain, Muintir Leanain,  
 Muintir Laithilthe, and  
 Muintir Shuanaig.

Dathi,  
 Fiacha,  
 Eochaidh Muighmeodhin,  
 Fiachadh Sreabhthine,  
 whose brother Eochaidh  
 Duibhleín, was father of  
 the three Collas, who  
 were princes of conduct  
 and valour. Fromolla  
 Vais, the eldest, sprang  
 the noble family of Mac



Donnell, both in Ireland and Scotland, as also Shiehy, in Irish, Clan Tsithhgh. Dowel, in Irish, Clan Dubhail, Kerin, in Irish, Clan Cheirin, Flynn, in Irish, O Floin, Tuirtre, as before mentioned, as also, O Brea-sail, Macha, &c.

Eirc,  
Crimhthan,  
Eochaidh,  
Colla Vais,  
Eochaidh; Dubhlein,  
Cairbre Liffeachair,  
Cormac Ulfhada,  
Art Aonfhir,  
Conn Ceadchathach,  
Vide O'Neill's Pedigree.

The Pedigree of Mac Don-nel, earl of Antrim.

RANDLE, the son of Sam-hairle,

Alusdrum,

Foin Cathanach,

Donnell Ballach,

Foin More,

Foin,

Aongus, Oge,

Aongus,

Donnell, from whom Mac

Donnell took the name!

from Alusdrum another

son, the Sheihy's descended.

Randle,

Samhairle,

Giolla Bride,

Giolla Adamhuin,

Solamh, from whom de-

scended the Sollys, in Ir-

ish Mac Solamh; &c.

Meadruidhe,

Suibhne,

Niallgus,

Maine,

Goffra,

Feargus,

Maguire's Pedigree, of the posterity of Colla da Chrioch.

CONCONATCHT More, the son of Aodha,

Bryen,

Conconatcht,

Conconatcht,

Conconatcht,

Bryen,

Philip,

Thomas More,

Aodha Roe,

Flathbherthy,

Donn,

Donnell,

Christianus,

Don More,

Randle,

Guire, from whom Maguire took the name.

Cairrdhigh,

Oirdheiligh,

Guir,

Cairnaigh,

Luain,

Vairgioladh,

Crimhthan;

Feidhthigh, Roichidh,  
Colla da Crioch,  
Eochaidh Dubhlein.

Cairbre Crom,  
Fearadhac,  
Luighaidh,  
Dallain,  
Breasal,  
Maine More,  
Eochaidh Firdaghiall,  
Donnell,

O Kelly's Pedigree.

MAOLEACHLUIN, son of  
Feadorcha,

Cealla,  
Donnell;  
Aodha,  
William,  
Maoleachloinn,  
William Boye,  
Donough Muimhneach,  
Connor,  
Donnell,  
Teige Tailteann,  
Connor,  
Diarmuidh,  
Connor,  
Teige Chatha Bryen,  
Morrrough,

Aodha,  
Ceallaig, from whom O  
Kelly took the name.

Fianachta,  
Oiliolla,  
Jonrachtach, from whose  
brother Cosgrach de-  
scended Clan Aodhag-  
hain.

Coithchiolla,  
Eogan Fion, from whose  
brother Baudhach de-  
scended Madan, in Irish,  
O Madagain.

Cormac,

Jomchaidh, from whose  
brothers sprang Mac Ma-  
hon of Ulster, Maguire,  
Mac Tighernan of Clann  
Farrill, O Hanluain and  
O Niallain.

Conn Ceadchathach, from  
whose two brothers de-  
scended O Nuallain in  
Leinster, O Whalans, in  
Irish, O Faolain, and O  
Bruic in Munster. From  
Conaire, brother-in-law  
to Conn; descended the  
Dalriada in Scotland, and  
the family of O Failvy in  
Desmond.

Mac Morrrough's Pedigree.  
MORROUGH, the son of Don-  
nell Spaineach,

Donnough,  
Charles Carrach,  
Mortough,  
Art Boye,  
Donnell Riabhach,  
Gerald,

Art Oge,  
Art More,  
Mortough, from whose  
brother Arthur sprang  
Sliocht Diarmuidha Lam-

- dheirg, viz. Morrough Mac Bryen with his descendants.
- Maurice, Mortough, Donnell Caomhanch. From this Donnell the noble family of the Cavanaghs descended; also from Eamon his brother descended the Cinsalchs.
- Diarmuidh na Ngall, from whose brother Morrough na Ngaidhil sprang Mac Daibith More.
- Dohough, Morrough Caol na mbo, Diarmuidh, Donnell, Ceallach, Cionaath, Caibre, Diarmuidh, Aodha, Ruagallach, Oncon, Faolchon, Faolain, Siolain, Eogan Caoh, Nathi, from whom descended the O Ryans.
- Criomhthan, Eana Cinsealach, from whose son Feidlim descended the noble families of the O Murphys & O Dowlings, and from his brother the noble families of the Byrns and Tools, in Irish, O Broin, and O Tuathail.
- Breasal Beallach, Fiachadh Baiceada, who was the youngest son of Cathaoir More, from whom sprang O Duffy.
- Cathaoir More, from whose eldest son, Rosso Faigle, sprang the following families, viz. O Connor Faily, O Duin, in English Dun, O Demsy, O Branain, O Riagain in Leinster, Mac Colgain, Clan Carbry, Maolchiarain, O Bearra of Leacach, O Hartaigh, and one of the families of Floinn. From Daire Barrach, another son, descended O Gormain, O Moony, in Irish O Maonaigh, Muillin, in Irish, O Maolain; and from Cuthorp, another son, descended O Feadhail of Fortuath.
- Feidhlim Diorurglas, Kormac Gealtagaath, Niachaorb, from whose son Cairbre Clutheachair sprang the families of O Dwyre and O Donagain Araighe,
- Connor Abhraruadh, Finfileadh, Rosa Roe, Nuahha Neacht, Seadhna Siothbhach, Luighdheach Loithfinn.
- Breasal Breac, Fiacha Fobhric, Oiliolla Glas,

Fiacha Foghlas,  
 Nuagat Follamhuin,  
 Alloit,  
 Art,  
 Modha Airt,  
 Criomhthan Cosgrach,  
 Eeidlime Fortriun,  
 Feargus Fortamhail,  
 Breasal Breogamhuin,  
 Aongus Follamhuin,  
 Oiliolla Brachain,  
 Labhra Loingseach,  
 Oiliolla Aine,  
 Laogaire Luirc,  
 Ugaine More,  
 Vide O'Neill's pedigree.



The Pedigree of O Connor  
Failie.

DONOUGH and Maurice O  
 Connor, esquires, the  
 sons of Coll,  
 John O Connor,  
 Donough,  
 John,  
 Donough,  
 John,  
 Diarmuid,  
 Charles, from whose brother  
 Furlough sprang the  
 noble family of Teige an  
 Troithin, &c.

Conn,  
 Calbhach,  
 Morough,  
 Mortough,  
 Mortough,  
 Mortough,  
 Maolmorbha,  
 Mortough,

Donough,  
 Conaifne,  
 Mortough,  
 Congalach,  
 Dunsleibhe,  
 Brogarbhan,  
 Connor,  
 Congalach,  
 Finn,  
 Maolmordha,  
 Connor,  
 Flapagan,  
 Cionfhaoith,  
 Mugruim,  
 Floin da Chongal,  
 Diomusach,  
 Congalach,  
 Foranan,  
 Maolumhaigh,  
 Cathal,  
 Bruidhe,  
 Eogan,  
 Nathi,  
 Rossa Failge,  
 Cathoir More.



The Pedigree of the Fitz-  
Patricks, kings of Ossory.

BRYEN, the son of Teige,  
 Florence,  
 Bryen,  
 Bryen,  
 John,  
 Florence na cul Choille,  
 Florence,  
 Donall Dubh,  
 Florence Bacach,  
 Donall More,  
 Moighe Laighis,  
 Donall Clanach,

Sgaunlan,  
 Giolla Padruig, from whom  
 Mac Giol Phadruig took  
 the name Fitz-Patrick,  
 Donough,  
 Ceallach,  
 Carroll, from whose son  
 Bryen sprang the valiant  
 family of O Breanan  
 Jobh Duach, and Clan,  
 Oisdighin.  
 Dongaile,  
 Anamchaidh,  
 Concearna,  
 Faolan,  
 Croanmaol,  
 Ronan Rieghfhlatha,  
 Colman More,  
 Bigne Caoch,  
 Laignig Faoligh,  
 Sganlan More,  
 Cinnfiolach,  
 Roman Duach,  
 Conull,  
 Cairbre,  
 Neadhbuain,  
 Eochaidh Lamhdhiott,  
 Aingidhe,  
 Laogaire Bearnbuadh.  
 Aongus Ossory,  
 Criomthan,  
 Eirc,  
 Eana,  
 Oiliolla,  
 Luigheach,  
 Labhra,  
 Carthan,  
 Nuadhath,  
 Conla,  
 Breasal Breac.

## O Dwyre's Pedigree.

PHILIP the son of Anthé-  
 ny,  
 Diarmuidh  
 Thomas,  
 Connor,  
 Thomas,  
 Thomas,  
 Connor,  
 Thomas,  
 Thomas,  
 Giolla na Naomh,  
 Giolla na Naomh,  
 Loughlin,  
 Giolla na Naomh,  
 Lorcan,  
 Ceallaig,  
 Giolla na Naomh,  
 Ceallaig,  
 Lorcan,  
 Aodh,  
 Donough,  
 Lorcan,  
 Dwyre, from whom O  
 Dwyre took the name.  
 Spiolain,  
 Suibhny,  
 Dunchadh,  
 Duadhfhlaithe,  
 Collan,  
 Colman,  
 Crath,  
 Roger,  
 Griollan,  
 Lubna,  
 Lughna,  
 Muiriny,  
 Fionnchadha,  
 Fyrrath,

Firruadearg,  
 Firine,  
 Luigheach,  
 Airimbair,  
 Cairbre Cluitheachair,  
 Conchorb,  
 Modha Corb,  
 Connor Abhraruadh,  
 Finnille,  
 Rossa Roe,  
 Nuadha, Neacht,  
 Seadhna Siothbaic,  
 Luigheach Loithfinn,  
 Breasal Breac,

Aongus,  
 Foluchta,  
 Flanain,  
 Cobhain,  
 Branuimh,  
 Heidersgeoil,  
 Nathi,  
 Aongus,  
 Maccon,  
 Macniadh,  
 Luidheach,  
 Daire Firuillne,  
 Eadamhrach,  
 Deaghadh Dearg,  
 Deirgthine,  
 Nuadhadh Airgtheach,  
 Luchtaine,

● Heidersgeoil's Pedigree,  
 of the posterity of Ith,  
 uncle to king Milesius.

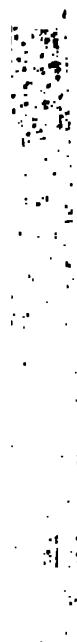
FLORENCE, the son of Connor,

Connor,  
 Florence,  
 Mac Con,  
 Mac Con,  
 Donough,  
 Mac Crath,  
 Donough More,  
 Fothadh,  
 Finn,  
 Mac Con,  
 Fothadh,  
 Heidersgeoil, from whom  
 O Heidersgeoil,

Finn,  
 Nuadhath,  
 Dungoile,  
 Maoltuile,  
 Dungusa,

Logha Feidbblig,  
 Osa,  
 Sin,  
 Maithsin,  
 Logha,  
 Eadamhain,  
 Mail,  
 Luigheach,  
 Ith, ●

Breogan. This Breogan was king of Spain, and was the grandfather of king Milesius. From Luigheach, the son of Ith, descended Mac Amluidhe, Callruidhe, Mac Flanchuidhe of Dartruidhe, O Cobhthaig, O Curnin, Mac Aillin in Scotland ago O Haillinan, O Flon Arda, O Baire Atran, &c. from Mac Aillin sprang O Fathaidh, &c.



A  
**DISCOVERY**

OF THE

*True causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign.—Originally published in 1612, BY SIR JOHN DAVIES.*

**DURING** the time of my service in Ireland (which began in the first year of His Majesty's reign) I have visited all the provinces of that kingdom, in sundry journies and circuits; wherein I have observed the good temperature of the air, the fruitfulness of the soil, the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation, and safe and large ports and havens lying open for traffick into all the western parts of the world; the long inlets of many navigable rivers, and so many great lakes, and fresh ponds within the land, (as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe) the rich fishings, and wild fowl of all kinds; and lastly, the bodies and minds of the people, endued with extraordinary abilities of nature.

The observation whereof hath bred in me some curiosity to consider what were the true causes why this kingdom, whereof our kings of England have borne the title of Sovereign Lords, for the space of four hundred and odd years (a period of time wherein divers great monarchies have risen from barbarism to civility, and fallen again to ruin, was not in all that space of time, thoroughly subdued and reduced to obedience of the crown of England, although there hath been almost a continual war between the English and the Irish; and why the manners of the mere Irish are so little altered since the days of king Henry the second, as appeareth by the description made by Giraldus Cambrensis, (who lived and wrote in that time) albeit, there have been since that time so many English colonies planted in Ireland, as that, if the peo-



ple were numbered at this day by the poll, such as are descended of English race would be found more in number than the antient natives.

And truly, upon consideration of the conduct and passage of affairs in former times, I find that the state of England ought to be cleared of an imputation which a vulgar error hath cast upon it in one point; namely, that Ireland long since might have been subdued and reduced to civility, if some statesmen in policy had not thought it more fit to continue that realm in barbarism. Doubtless, this vulgar opinion (or report) hath no true ground, but did first arise either out of ignorance, or out of malice; for it will appear by that which shall hereafter be laid down in this discourse, that ever since our nation had any footing in this land, the state of England did earnestly desire, and did accordingly endeavour from time to time, to perfect the conquest of this kingdom, but that in every age there were found such impediments and defects in both realms, as caused almost an impossibility that things should have been otherwise than they were.

The defects which hindered the perfection of the conquest of Ireland, were of two kinds, and consisted, first, in the faint prosecution of the war; and next, in the looseness of the civil government. For the husbandman must first break the land before it be made capable of good seed: and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forthwith cast good seed into it, it will grow wild again, and bear nothing but weeds. So a barbarous country must be first broken by a war, before it will be capable of good government; and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the conquest, it will often return to the former barbarism.

Touching the carriage of the martial affairs, from the seventeenth year of king Henry the second, when the first overture was made for the conquest of Ireland, (I mean, the first after the Norman conquest of England, until the nine-and-thirtieth year of queen Elizabeth, when that royal army was sent over to suppress Tyrone's rebellion, which made in the end an universal and absolute conquest of all the Irish: It is most certain, that the English forces sent hither, or raised here from time to

time, were ever too weak to subdue and master so many warlike nations (or septs) of the Irish as did possess this island; and besides their weakness, they were ill paid, and worse governed. And if at any time there came over an army of competent strength and power, it did rather terrify, than break and subdue this people, being ever broken and dissolved by some one accident or other, before the perfection of the conquest.

For that I call a perfect conquest of a country, which doth reduce all the people thereof to the condition of subjects: and those I call subjects, which are governed by the ordinary laws and magistrates of the sovereign. For though the prince doth bear the title of sovereign lord of an entire country, (as our kings did of all Ireland) yet if there be two third parts of that country wherein he cannot punish treasons, murders, or thefts, unless he send an army to do it; if the jurisdiction of his ordinary courts of justice doth not extend into those parts to protect the people from wrong and oppression; if he have no certain revenue, no escheats or forfeitures out of the same, I cannot justly say that such a country is wholly conquered.

First then, that we may judge and discern whether the English forces in Ireland were at any time of sufficient strength to make a full and final conquest of that land, let us see what extraordinary armies have been transmitted out of England thither, and what ordinary forces have been maintained there, and what service they have performed from time to time, since the seventeenth year of king Henry the second.

In that year, Mac Murugh, lord of Leinster, being oppressed by the lords of Meth and Connaught, and expelled out of his territory, moved king Henry the second to invade Ireland, and made an overture unto him for the obtaining of the sovereign lordship thereof. The king refused to undertake the war himself, to avoid the charge (as king Henry the seventh refused to undertake the discovery of the Indies for the same cause) but he gave license by his letters patent, that such of his subjects might pass over into Ireland, as would at their own charge become adventurers in that enterprise.

So as the first attempt to conquer this kingdom was but an adventure of a few private gentlemen. Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald first broke the ice, with a party of three hundred and ninety men: The earl Strongbow followed them with twelve hundred more, whose good success upon the sea-coast of Leinster and Munster drew over the king in person the next year after, cum quingentis militibus, as Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth, who was present in Ireland at that time. Which, if they were but five hundred soldiers, seemeth too small a train for so great a prince. But admit they were five hundred knights, yet because in those days every knight was not a commander of a regiment, or company, but most of them served as private men, (sometimes a hundred knights under a spear) as appears by the lists of the ancient armies, we cannot conjecture his army to have been so great, as might suffice to conquer all Ireland, being divided into so many principalities, and having so many hydra's heads, as it had at that time.

For albeit, Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, doth report that Agricola having subdued the greatest part of Great Britain, did signify to the senate of Rome, that he thought Ireland might also be conquered with one legion and a few aids; I make no doubt, but that if he had attempted the conquest thereof with a far greater army, he would have found himself deceived in his conjecture. "For a barbarous country is not so easily conquered as a civil, whereof Cæsar had experience in his wars against the Gauls, Germans and Britons, who were subdued to the Roman empire, with far greater difficulty than the rich kingdoms of Asia. And again, a country possessed with many petty lords and states, is not so soon brought under entirely, as an entire kingdom governed by one prince or monarch, and therefore the late king of Spain could sooner win the kingdom of Portugal, than reduce the states of the Low Countries."

But let us see the success of king Henry the second. Doubtless his expedition was such, as he might have said with Cæsar, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. For, upon his first arrival, his very presence, without drawing his sword, prevailed so much, as all the petty kings or great lords within Leinster, Connaught and Munster, submitted themselves un-

to him; promised to pay him tribute, and acknowledged him their chief and sovereign lord. Besides, the better to assure this inconstant sea-nymph, who was so easily won, the pope would needs give her unto him with a ring, *Conjugio jungam stabili, propriamque dicabo*. But as the conquest was but slight and superficial, so the pope's donation, and the Irish submissions, were but weak and fickle assurances: For as the pope had no more interest in this kingdom, than he who offered to Christ all the kingdoms of the earth; so the Irish pretend, that by their law, a Tanist might do no act that might bind his successor. But this was the best assurance he could get from so many strong nations of people with so weak a power: and yet he was so well pleased with this title of the lordship of Ireland, as he placed it in his royal style, before the Duchies of Normandy and Aquitain. And so being advertised of some stirs raised by his unnatural sons in England, within five months after his first arrival, he departed out of Ireland, without striking one blow, or building one castle, or planting one garrison among the Irish; neither left he behind him one true subject more than those he found there at his coming over, which were only the English adventurers spoken of before, who had gained the port towns in Leinster and Munster; and possessed some scopes of land thereunto adjoining, partly by Strongbow's alliance with the lord of Leinster, and partly by plain invasion and conquest.

And this is that conquest of king Henry the second, so much spoken of by so many writers, which though it were in no other manner than is before expressed, yet is the entire conquest of all Ireland attributed unto him.

But the truth is, the conquest of Ireland was made by piece and piece, by slow steps and degrees, and by several attempts, in several ages. There were sundry revolutions, as well of the English fortunes as of the Irish; sometimes one prevailing, sometimes the other; and it was never brought to a full period, till his majesty that now is came to the crown.

As for king Henry the second, he was far from obtaining that monarchy royal, and true sovereignty, which his majesty (who now reigneth) hath over the Irish. For the Irish lords did only promise to become tributaries to

king Henry the second; and such as pay only tribute, though they be placed by Bodin in the first degree of subjection, are not properly subjects, but sovereigns. For though they be less and inferior unto the prince to whom they pay tribute, yet they hold all other points of sovereignty; and having paid their tribute which they promised, to have their peace, they are quit of all other duties, as the same Bodin writeth. And, therefore, though king Henry the second had the title of sovereign lord over the Irish, yet did he not put those things in execution, which are the true marks and differences of sovereignty.

For to give laws unto a people, to institute magistrates and officers over them, to punish and pardon malefactors, to have the sole authority of making war and peace, and the like, are true marks of sovereignty; which king Henry the second had not in the Irish countries, but the Irish lords did still retain all these prerogatives to themselves.

For they governed their people by the Brehon law, they made their own magistrates and officers, they pardoned and punished all malefactors within their several countries, they made war and peace one with another without controlment; and this they did, not only during the reign of king Henry the second, but afterwards in all times, even until the reign of queen Elizabeth: and it appeareth what manner of subjects these Irish lords were, by the concord made between king Henry the second, and Roderick O Connor the Irish king of Conaught, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, which is recorded by Hoveden in this form: *Hic est finis & Concordia, inter dominum regem Angliæ, Henricum, filium imperatricis, & Rodoricum regem Conactæ, scilicet, quod rex Angliæ concessit prædict. Roderico ligeo homini suo, ut sit rex sub eo paratus ad servitium suum, ut home suus, &c.* And the commission whereby king Henry the second made William Fitz-Adelme his lieutenant of Ireland, hath this direction; *archiepiscopis, episcopis, regibus, comitibus, baronibus, & omnibus fidelibus suis in Hibernia salutem.* Whereby it is manifest, that he gave those Irish lords the title and style of kings.

King John likewise did grant divers charters to the king of Connaught, which remain in the tower of London. And afterwards, in the time of king Henry the third, we find

in the tower a grant made to the king of Thomond in these words. Rex regi Tosmond salutem. Concessimus vobis terram Tosmond quam prius tenuistis, per firmam centum & triginta marcarum; tenendum de nobis usque ad ætatem nostram. And in the pipe rolls remaining in Bre-mingham's tower, in the castle of Dublin, upon sundry accounts of the seneschal of Ulster (when that earldom was in the king's hands by reason of the minority of the earl) the entry of all such charges as were made upon O Neale for rent-beeves, or for aids towards the maintenance of the king's wars, one in this form: O Neale regulus, 400 vac-cas pro arreragio reddit: O Neale regulus, 100, li. de aux-ilio domini regis ad guerram suam in Wasconia sustinen-dam. And in one roll the 36th of Henry the third, O Neale rex, 100. li. de auxilio domini regis ad guerram suam in Wallia, sustinendam. Which seemed strange to me, that the king's civil officer should give him that style upon re-cord, unless he meant it in that sense as Maximilian the emperor did, when speaking of his disobedient subjects: The title (said he) of rex regum, doth more properly be-long to me, than to any mortal prince, for all my subjects do live as kings, they obey me in nothing, but do what they list. And truly, in that sense these Irish lords might not unfitly be termed kings. But to speak in proper terms; we must say with the Latin poet. Qui est rex, regem maxime non habeat. But touching these Irish kings, I will add this note out of an antient manuscript, the black book of Christ church in Dublin, Isti regis non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus. ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec jure hæreditario, vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis quilibet regnum suum obtinuit; and there-fore they had no just cause to complain, when a stronger king than themselves became a king and lord over them. But let us return to our purpose, and see the proceeding of the martial affairs.

King Henry the second being returned into England, gave the lordship of Ireland (surnamed before that time Sans Terre) unto the lord John, his youngest son: and the pope confirming that gift, sent him a crown of Pea-cocks feathers (as pope Clement the eighth sent the fea-ther of a Phœnix, as he called it, to the traitor Tyrone.) This young prince, the king's son, being but twelve

years of age, with a train of young noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of three hundred, but not with any main army, came over to take possession of his new patrimony, and being arrived at Waterford, divers Irish lords (who had submitted themselves to his father) came to perform the like duty to him. But that youthful company using them with scorn, because their demeanors were but rude and barbarous, they went away much discontented, and raised a general rebellion against him. Whereby it was made manifest, that the submission of the Irish lords, and the donation of the pope, were but slender and weak assurances for a kingdom.

Hereupon this young lord was revoked, and sir John de Courcy sent over, not with the king's army, but with a company of volunteers, in number four hundred or thereabout. With these he attempted the conquest of Ulster, and in four or five encounters did so beat the Irish of that province, as that he gained the maritime coasts thereof, from the Boyne to the Banne; and thereupon was made earl of Ulster. So as now the English had gotten good footing in all the provinces of Ireland: in the first three provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, part by the sword, and part by submission and alliance: and lastly in Ulster, by the invasion and victories of sir John de Courcy.

From this time forward, until the seventeenth year of king John, (which was a space of more than thirty years) there was no army transmitted out of England to finish the conquest. Howbeit, in the mean time, the English adventurers and colonies already planted in Ireland, did win much ground upon the Irish: Namely, the earl Strongbow, having married the daughter of Mat Murugh, in Leinster; the Lacies in Meath; the Geraldines, and other adventurers in Munster; the Audleys, Gernons, Clintons, Russels, and other volunteers of Sir John de Courcy's retinue, in Ulster; and the Bourkes, (planted by William Fitz-Adelme) in Connaught. Yet were the English reputed but part-owners of Ireland at this time, as appeareth by the commission of the pope's legate in the time of king Richard the first, whereby he had power to exercise his jurisdiction in Anglia, Wallia, ac illis Hiberniæ partibus, in quibus Johannes Moretonii Comes potestatem habet et dominium, as it is recorded by Mat. Paris.

King John, in the twelfth year of his reign, came over again into Ireland; the stories of that time say with a great army, but the certain numbers are not recorded. Yet it is credible, in regard of the troubles wherewith this king was distressed in England, that this army was not of sufficient strength to make an entire conquest of Ireland; and if it had been of sufficient strength, yet did not the king stay a sufficient time to perform so great an action; for he came over in June and returned in September, the same year. Howbeit, in that time, the Irish lords, for the most part, submitted themselves to him, as they had done before to his father, which was but a mere mockery and imposture, for his back was no sooner turned, but they returned to their former rebellion; and yet this was reputed a second conquest. And so this king giving order for the building of some castles upon the borders of the English colonies, left behind him the bishop of Norwich, for the civil government of the land; but he left no standing army to prosecute the conquest. Only the English colonies which were already planted, were left to themselves to maintain what they had got, and to gain more if they could.

The personal presence of these two great princes, king Henry the second and king John, though they performed no great thing with their armies, gave such countenance to the English colonies, which increased daily by the coming over of new volunteers and adventurers out of England, as that they enlarged their territories very much. Howbeit, after this time, the kings of England, either because they presumed that the English colonies were strong enough to root out the Irish by degrees, or else because they were diverted or disabled otherwise, (as shall be declared hereafter) never sent over any royal army or any numbers of men worthy to be called an army into Ireland, until the thirty-sixth year of king Edward the third, when Lionell duke of Clarence, the king's second son, having married the daughter and heir of Ulster, was sent over with an extraordinary power in respect of the time, (for the wars betwixt England and France were then in their heat) as well to recover his earldom of Ulster, which was then over-run and possessed by the Irish, as to reform the English colonies, which were become strangely degenerate throughout the whole kingdom.



For though king Henry the third gave the whole land of Ireland to Edward the prince, his eldest son, and his heirs, ita quod non separatur a corona Angliæ. Whereupon it was styled the land of Edward, the king's eldest son; and all the officers of the land were called the officers of Edward lord of Ireland. And though this Edward was one of the most active princes that ever lived in England, yet did he neither in the life time of his father, or during his own reign, come over in person, or transmit any army into Ireland; but on the other side, he drew sundry aids and supplies of men out of Ireland, to serve him in his wars in Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne. And again though king Edward the second sent over Piers Gaveston with a great retinue, it was never intended he should perfect the conquest of Ireland, for the king could not want his company so long a time as must have been spent in the finishing of so tedious a work.

So then, in all that space of time, between the twelfth year of king John, and the thirty-sixth year of king Edward the third, containing one hundred and fifty years, or thereabouts, although there was a continual bordering war between the English and the Irish, there came no royal army out of England to make an end of the war. But the chief governors of the realm, who were at first called Custodes Hiberniæ, and afterwards lord justices, and the English lords, who had gotten so great possessions and royalties, as that they presumed to make war and peace without direction from the state, did levy all their forces within the land. But those forces were weakly supplied, and ill governed, as I said before; weakly supplied with men and money, and governed with the worst discipline that ever was seen among men of war. And no marvel, for it is an infallible rule, that an army ill paid, is ever unruly and ill governed. The standing forces here were seldom or never reinforced out of England; and such as were sent from thence, or raised here, did commonly do more hurt and damage to the English subjects than to the Irish enemies, by their continual cess and extortion. Which mischief did arise, by reason that little or no treasure was sent out of England to pay the soldiers' wages. Only the king's revenue was spent, and wholly spent in the public service; and therefore in all the ancient p<sup>ar</sup>t

rolls in the times of Henry the third, Edward the first, Edward the second, and Edward the third, between the receipts and allowances, there is this entry, in Thesauro, nihil: For the officers of the state and army spent all, so there was no surplusage of treasure, and yet that all was not sufficient. For in default of the king's pay, as well as the ordinary forces which stood continually, as the extraordinary which were levied by the governor upon journies and general hostings, were for the most part

laid upon the poor subject descended of English race, howbeit this burden was in some measure tolerable in the time of king Henry the third and king Edward the first, but in the time of king Edward the second, Maurice Fitz Thomas of Desmond being commander against the Scots, began that wicked extortion of coin and livery, and pay; that is, he and his army took horse meat and man's meat and money at their pleasure, without any ticket, or other satisfaction. And this was after that time, the general fault of all the governors and commanders of the army in this land. Only the golden saying of sir Thomas Rokesby, who was justice in the thirtieth year of king Edward the third, is recorded in all the annals of this kingdom, that he would eat in wooden dishes, but would pay for his meat gold and silver. Besides, the English colonies being dispersed in every province of this kingdom, were enforced to keep continual guards upon the borders and marshes round about them; which guards, consisting of idle soldiers, were likewise imposed as a continual burthen upon the poor English freholders, whom they oppressed and impoverished in the same manner. And because the great English lords and captains had power to impose this charge when and where they pleased, many of the poor freholders were glad to give unto those lords a great part of their lands, to hold the rest free from that extortion: and many others, not being able to endure that intolerable oppression, did utterly quit their freeholds, and returned into England. By these means the English colonies grew poor and weak, though the English lords grew rich and mighty; for they placed Irish tenants upon the lands relinquished by the English; upon them they levied all Irish exactions, with them they married, and

fostered, and made gossips; so as within one age, the English, both lords and freeholders, became degenerate and mere Irish in their language, in their apparel, in their arms and manner of fight, and all other customs of life whatsoever.

By this it appeareth why the extortion of coin and livery, is called in the old statutes of Ireland, a damnable custom; and the imposing and taking thereof, made high treason. And it is said in an antient discourse, of the decay of Ireland, that though it were first invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub. In this manner was the war of Ireland carried before the coming over of Lionel duke of Clarence.

This young prince, being earl of Ulster, and lord of Connaught, in right of his wife (who was daughter and heir of the lord William Bourk, the last earl of Ulster of that family, slain by treachery at Knockfergus) was made the king's lieutenant of Ireland; and sent over with an army in the six and thirtieth year of king Edward the third; the roll and list of which army doth remain of record in the king's remembrancers office in England (in the press *de rebus tangentibus Hibernian*) and does not contain above fifteen hundred men by the poll; which because it differs somewhat from the manner of this age, both in respect of the command, and the entertainment, I think it not impertinent to take a brief view thereof.

The lord Lionel was general, and under him Ralph earl of Stafford, James earl of Ormond, sir John Carew, Banneret, sir William Winsor, and other knights were commanders.

The entertainment of the general, upon his first arrival, was but six shillings and eight pence per diem, for himself; for five knights, two shillings a piece per diem; for sixty-four esquires, twelve pence a piece per diem; for seventy archers, six pence a piece per diem. But being shortly after created duke of Clarence (which honour was conferred upon him being here in Ireland) his entertainment was raised to twelve shillings and four pence per diem, for himself; and for eight knights, two shillings a piece per diem; with an increase of the number of his archers, viz. three

hundred and sixty archers on horseback, out of Lancashire, at six pence apiece per diem; and twenty-three archers out of Wales, at one penny apiece per diem.

The earl of Stafford's entertainment was, for himself, six shillings and eight pence per diem; for a banneret, four shillings per diem; for seventeen knights, two shillings apiece per diem; for seventy-eight esquires, twelve pence apiece per diem; for one hundred archers on horseback, six pence apiece per diem. Besides, he had the command of four and twenty archers out of Staffordshire, forty archers out of Worcestershire, and six archers out of Shropshire, at four pence apiece per diem.

The entertainment of James earl of Ormond was, for himself, four shillings per diem; for two knights, two shillings apiece per diem; for seven and twenty esquires, twelve pence apiece per diem; for twenty hobblers armed (the Irish horsemen were so called, because they served on hobbies) six pence apiece per diem; and for twenty hobblers not armed, four pence apiece per diem.

The entertainment of sir John Carew, banneret, was, for himself, four shillings per diem; for one knight, two shillings per diem; for eight esquires, twelve pence apiece per diem; for ten archers on horseback, six pence apiece per diem.

The entertainment of sir William Winsor was, for himself, two shillings per diem; for two knights, two shillings apiece per diem; for forty-nine esquires, twelve pence apiece per diem; for six archers on horseback, six pence apiece per diem.

The like entertainment rateably, allowed to divers knights and gentlemen upon that list, for themselves and their several retinues; whereof some were greater, and some less, as they themselves could raise them among their tenants and followers.

For in ancient times, the king himself did not levy his armies by his own immediate authority or commission; but the lords and captains did by indenture covenant with the king, to serve him in his wars, with certain numbers of men, for certain wages and entertainments, which they raised in greater or lesser numbers; as they had favor or power with the people. This course hath been changed in later times upon good reasons of state: For

the barons and chief gentlemen of the realm, having power to use the king's prerogative in that point, became too popular; whereby they were enabled to raise forces even against the crown itself; which since the statutes made for levying and mustering of soldiers by the king's special commission, they cannot so easily perform, if they should forget their duties.

This lord lieutenant, with this small army, performed no great service; and yet upon his coming over, all men who had land in Ireland, were by proclamation remanded back out of England thither; and both the clergy and laity of this land gave two years profits of all their lands and tythes, towards the maintenance of the war here: only he suppressed some rebels in low Leinster, and recovered the maritime parts of his earldom of Ulster. But his best service did consist in the well governing of his army, and in holding that famous parliament at Kilkenny, wherein the extortion of the soldier, and the degenerate manners of the English (briefly spoken of before) were discovered, and laws made to reform the same: which shall be declared more at large hereafter.

The next lieutenant, transmitted with any forces out of England, was sir William Winsor; who in the forty-seventh year of king Edward the third, undertook the custody, not the conquest of this land, for now the English made rather a defensive than an evasive war, and withal, to defray the whole charge of the kingdom for eleven thousand two hundred thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence, as appeareth by the indenture between him and the king, remaining on record in the tower of London. But it appeareth by that which Froissard reporteth, that sir William Winsor was so far from subduing the Irish, as he himself reporteth, that he could never have access to understand and know their countries, although he had spent more time in the service of Ireland, than any Englishman then living.

And here I may well take occasion to shew the vanity of that which is reported in the story of Walsingham, touching the revenue of the crown of Ireland, in the time of king Edward the third: for he setting forth the state of things there, in the time of king Richard the second, writeth thus: "*Cum Rex Angliæ illustris, Edwardus*

*Tertius illic posuisset bancum suum atque Judices, cum scaccario, percepit inde ad regalem, fiscum annuatim triginta millia librarum; modo propter absentiam ligeorum, et hostium potentiam, nihil inde venit: sed rex per annos singulos, de suo marsupio, terræ defensoribus soluit triginta millia marcarum, ad regni sui dedecus et fisci grandissimum detrimentum."*

If this writer had known that the king's courts had been established in Ireland more than an hundred years before king Edward the third was born; or had seen either the parliament rolls in England, or the records of the receipts and issues in Ireland, he had not left this vain report to posterity: For both the benches and the exchequer were erected in the twelfth year of king John. And it is recorded in the parliament roll of the twenty-first, of king Edward the third, remaining in the tower, that the commons of England made petition that it might be enquired, why the king received no benefit of his land of Ireland, considering he possessed more there than any of his ancestors had before him. Now, if the king at that time, when there was no standing forces maintained there had received thirty thousand pounds yearly at his exchequer in Ireland, he must needs have made profit by that land, considering that the whole charge of the kingdom in the forty-seventh year of Edward the third (when the king did pay an army there) did amount to no more than eleven thousand and two hundred pounds per annum, as appeareth by the contract of sir William Winsor.

Besides, it is manifest by the Pipe-Rolls of that time, whereof many are yet preserved in Bretingham's tower, and are of better credit than any monk's story; that during the reign of king Edward the third, the revenue of the crown of Ireland, both certain and casual, did not rise unto ten thousand pound per annum, though the medium be taken of the best seven years that are to be found in that king's time. The like fable hath Hollingshead touching the revenue of the earldom of Ulster; which (saith he) in the time of king Richard the second was thirty thousand marks by the year: whereas in truth, though the lordships of Connaught and Meth (which were then parcel of the inheritance of the earl of Ulster) be added to the account, the revenue of that earldom

came not to the third part of that he writeth. For the account of the profits of Ulster yet remaining in Bremlingham's tower, made by William Fitz-Warren, Seneschal and farmer of the lands in Ulster, seized into the king's hands after the death of Walter de Burgo, earl of Ulster, from the fifth year of king Edward the third, until the eighth year, do amount but to nine hundred and odd pounds, at which time the Irish had not made so great an invasion upon the earldom of Ulster, as they had done in the time of king Richard the second.

As vain a thing it is, that I have seen written in an ancient manuscript, touching the customs of this realm in the time of king Edward the third, that those duties in those days should yearly amount to ten thousand marks, which by my own search and view of the records here, I can justly controul. For upon the late reducing of this ancient inheritance of the crown, which had been detained in most of the port towns of this realm, for the space of an hundred years and upwards, I took some pains (according to the duty of my place) to visit all the pipe-rolls, wherein the accounts of customs are contained, and found those duties answered in every port, for two hundred and fifty years together, but did not find that at any time they did exceed a thousand pounds per annum; and no marvel, for the subsidy of poundage was not then known, and the greatest profit did arise by the cocquet of hides; for wool and wool felts were ever of little value in this kingdom.

But now again let us see how the martial affairs proceeded in Ireland. Sir William Winsor continued his government till the latter end of the reign of king Edward the third, keeping, but not enlarging the English borders.

In the beginning of the reign of king Richard the second, the state of England began to think of the recovery of Ireland. For then was the first statute made against absentees, commanding all such as had land in Ireland, to return and reside thereupon, upon pain to forfeit two third parts of the profit thereof. Again, this king, before he intended to pass over, committed the government of this realm to such great lords successively, as he did most love and favour, first, to the earl of Ox-

ford, his chief minion, whom he created marquiss of Dublin, and duke of Ireland. Next, to the duke of Surry, his half-brother, and lastly to the lord Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, his cousin and heir apparent.

Among the patent rolls in the tower, the ninth year of Richard the second, we find five hundred men at arms, at twelve pence apiece per diem, and a thousand archers at six pence apiece per diem, appointed for the duke of Ireland, *super conquestu illius terræ, per duos annos*; for those are the words of that record. But for the other two lieutenants, I do not find the certain numbers whereof their armies did consist; but certain it is, that they were scarce able to defend the English borders, much less to reduce the whole island; for one of them, namely, the earl of March, was himself slain upon the borders of Meth; for revenge of whose death, the king himself made his second voyage into Ireland, in the last year of his reign. For his first voyage in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was indeed a voyage royal, was made upon another motive and occasion, which was this. Upon the vacancy of the empire, this king having married the king of Bohemia's daughter, whereby he had great alliance in Germany, did by his ambassadors solicit the princes electors to choose him emperor; but another being elected, and his ambassadors returned, he would needs know of them the cause of his repulse in that competition. They told him plainly, that the princes of Germany, did not think him fit to command the empire. who was neither able to hold that which his ancestors had gained in France, nor to rule his insolent subjects in England, nor to master his rebellious people of Ireland. This was enough to kindle in the heart of a young prince, a desire to perform some great enterprise; and therefore finding it no fit time to attempt France, he resolved to finish the conquest of Ireland, and to that end he levied a mighty army consisting of four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand archers, which was a sufficient power to have reduced the whole island, if he had first broken the Irish with a war, and after established the English laws among them, and not have been satisfied with their light submissions only, wherewith in all ages, they have mocked and abused the state of England. But the Irish lords know-



ing this to be a sure policy to dissolve the forces, which they were not able to resist, for their ancestors had put the same trick and imposture upon king John and king Henry the second, as soon as the king was arrived with his army, which he brought over under St. Edward's banner, whose name was had in great veneration amongst the Irish, they all made offer to submit themselves; whereupon the lord Thomas Mowbray earl of Nottingham, and marshal of England, was authorized by special commission to receive the homages and oaths of fidelity, of all the Irish in Leinster. And the king himself having received humble letters from O'Neill, wherein he styleth himself prince of the Irish in Ulster, and yet acknowledgeth the king to be his sovereign lord, *et perpetuus dominus Hiberniæ*, removed to Drogheda, to accept the like submission from the Irish of Ulster. The men of Leinster, namely Mac Morrough; O'Byrne, O'Moore, O'Murrough, O'Nolan, and the chief of the Kinshelagies, in a humble and solemn manner did their homages and made their oaths of fidelity to the earl marshal, laying aside their girdles, their skins and their caps, and falling down at his feet upon their knees; which when they had performed, the earl gave unto each of them *osculum pacis*. Besides they were bound by several indentures, upon great pains, to be paid to the apostolical chamber, not only to continue loyal subjects, but that by a certain day prefixed, they and all their swordmen, should clearly relinquish and give up unto the king and his successors all their lands and possessions which they held in Leinster, and taking with them only their moveable goods, should serve him in his wars against his other rebels. In consideration whereof the king should give them pay and pensions during their lives, and bestow the inheritance of all such lands upon them as they should recover from the rebels in any other part of the realm. And, thereupon, a pension of eighty marks per annum, was granted to Art' Mac Murrough chief of the Cauanaghies; the enrollment whereof I found in the white book of the exchequer here. And this was the effect of the service performed by the earl marshal, by virtue of his commission. The king in like manner received the submissions of the lords of Ulster; namely, O'Neale, O'Hanlon, Mac Donel, Mac Mahon,

and others; who with the like humility and ceremony, did homage and fealty to the king's own person; the words of O'Neale's homage, as they are recorded, are not unfit to be remembered: "Ego Nelanus O'Neale senior tam pro meipso, quam pro filiis meis, et tota natione mea et parentelis meis, et pro omnibus subditis meis devenio ligeus homo vester," &c. And in the indenture between him and the king, he is not only bound to remain faithful to the crown of England, but to restore the bonaght of Ulster to the earl of Ulster, as of the right belonging to that earldom, and usurped among other things by the O'Neales.

These indentures and submissions, with many other of the same kind, (for there was not a chieftain or head of of an Irish sept, but submitted himself in one form or other) the king himself caused to be enrolled and testified by a notary public, and delivered the enrollments with his own hands to the bishop of Salisbury, then lord treasurer of England, so as they were then preserved, and are now to be found in the office of the king's remembrancer there.

With these humilities they satisfied the young king and by their bowing and bending avoided the present storm, and so broke that army which was prepared to break them. For the king having accepted their submission, received them in *osculo pacis*, feasted them, and given the honor of knighthood to divers of them, did break up and dissolve his army, and returned into England with much honor and small profit, saith Froissard, for though he had spent a huge mass of treasure in transporting his army, by the countenance whereof he drew on their submission, yet he did not increase his revenue thereby one sterling pound, nor enlarge the English borders the breadth of one acre of land; neither did he extend the jurisdiction of his courts of justice one foot further than the English colonies, wherein it was used and exercised before. Besides, he was no sooner returned into England, but those Irish lords laid aside their masks of humility, and scorning the weak forces which the king had left behind him, began to infest the borders; in defence whereof, the lord Roger Mortimer being then the king's lieutenant, and heir apparent of the crown of England, was slain, as I said before. Whereupon the king, being moved with just appe-

tite of revenge, came over again in person, in the twenty-second year of his reign, with as potent an army as he had done before, with a full purpose to make a full conquest of Ireland; he landed at Waterford, and passed from thence to Dublin, through the vast countries of the Murrogles, Kinshelaghcs, Cauanaghcs, Birnes, and Tooles; his great army was much distressed for want of victuals and carriages, so as he performed no memorable thing in that journey, only in the Cauanaghcs country, he cut and cleared the passes, and bestowed the honor of knighthood upon the lord Henry, the duke of Lancaster's son, who was afterwards king Henry the fifth, and so came to Dublin, where entering into council how to proceed in the war, he received news out of England of the arrival of the banished duke of Lancaster at Ravenspurge, usurping the legal authority and arresting and putting to death his principal officers.

This advertisement suddenly broke off the king's purpose, touching the prosecution of the war in Ireland and transported him into England, where shortly after he ended both his reign and his life. Since whose time, until the thirty-ninth year of queen Elizabeth, there was never any army sent over of a competent strength or power to subdue the Irish, but the war was made by the English colonies, only to defend their borders; or if any forces were transmitted over, they were sent only to suppress the rebellion of such as were descended of the English race, and not to enlarge our dominion over the Irish.

During the reign of king Henry the fourth, the lord Thomas of Lancaster, the king's second son, was lieutenant of Ireland; who, for the first eight years of that king's reign, made the lord Scroope, and others, his deputies; who only defended the marches with forces levied within the land. In the eighth year that prince came over in person with a small retinue; so as wanting a sufficient power to attempt or perform any great service, he returned within seven months after into England. Yet during his personal abode there, he was hurt in his own person within one mile of Dublin, upon an encounter with the Irish enemy. He took the submission of O'Birne of the mountains, Mac Mahon and O'Rely, by several indentures, wherein O'Birne doth covenant, that the king shall

quietly enjoy the manor of New-Castle; Mac-Mahon accepteth a state in the ferny for life, rendering ten pound a year; and O'Rely doth promise to perform such duties to the earl of March and Ulster, as were contained in an indenture dated the eighteenth of Richard the second.

In the time of king Henry the fifth, there came no forces out of England: howbeit the lord Furnival being the king's lieutenant, made a martial circuit, or journey, round about the marches and borders of the pale; and brought all the the Irish to the king's peace, beginning with the Birnes, Tooles, and Caunanaghcs on the south; and so passing to the Moores, O'Connors, and O'Farals, in the west; and ending with the O'Relies, Mac-Mahons, O'Neals, and O'Hanlons in the north. He had power to make them seek the king's peace, but not power to reduce them to the obedience of subjects: yet this was then held so great and worthy a service, as that the lords and chief gentlemen of the pale made certificate thereof in French unto the king, being then in France; which I have seen recorded in the white book of the exchequer at Dublin.

Howbeit, his army was so ill paid and governed, as the English suffered more damage by the cess of his soldiers (for now that monster coin and livery, which the statute of Kilkenny had for a time abolished, was risen again from hell) than they gained profit or security, by abating the pride of their enemies for a time.

During the minority of king Henry the sixth, and for the space of seven or eight years after, the lieutenants and deputies made only a bordering war upon the Irish, with small and scattered forces; howbeit, because there came no treasure out of England to pay the soldiers, the poor English subject did bear the burthen of the men of war in every place; and were thereby so weakened and impoverished, as the state of things in Ireland stood very desperate.

Whereupon the cardinal of Winchester, (who, after the death of Humphry duke of Gloucester, did wholly sway the state of England) being desirous to place the duke of Somerset in the regency of France, took occasion to remove Richard duke of York from that government, and send him into Ireland, pretending that he was a most able and willing person to perform service there.

because he had a great inheritance of his own in Ireland; namely, the earldom of Ulster, and the lordships of Conaught and Meth, by descent from Lionel duke of Clarence.

We do not find that this great lord came over with any numbers of waged soldiers, but it appeareth upon what good terms he took that government, by the covenants between the king and him, which are recorded and confirmed by act of parliament of Ireland, and were to this effect.

1. That he should be the king's lieutenant of Ireland, for ten years.

2. That to support the charge of that country, he should receive all the king's revenues there, both certain and casual, without account.

3. That he should be supplied also with treasure out of England, in this manner; he should have four thousand marks for the first year, whereof he should be imprested 2000*l.* before-hand; and for the other nine years he should receive 2000*l.* per annum.

4. That he might let to farm the king's lands, and place and displace all officers at his pleasure.

5. That he might levy and wage what numbers of men he thought fit.

6. That he might make a deputy, and return at his pleasure.

We cannot presume that this prince kept any great army on foot, as well because his means out of England were so mean, and those ill paid, as appeareth by his passionate letter written to the earl of Salisbury his brother-in-law; the copy whereof is registered in the story of this time; as also because the whole land, except the English pale, and some parts of the earldom of Ulster, upon the sea coasts, were possessed by the Irish: so as the revenue of the kingdom, which he was to receive, did amount to little. He kept the borders and marches of the pale with much ado; he held many parliaments, wherein sundry laws were made for erecting of castles in Louth, Meth, and Kildare, to stop the incursion of the Irish: and because the soldiers for want of pay were sessed and laid upon the subjects against their wills; upon the prayer and importunity of the commons, this extortion was declared to be high

treason. But to the end that some means might be raised to nourish some forces for defence of the pale, by another act of parliament, every twenty pound land was charged with the furnishing and maintenance of one archer on horseback.

Besides, the native subjects of Ireland, seeing the kingdom utterly ruined, did pass in such numbers into England, as one law was made in England, to transmit them back again, and another law made here to stop their passage in every port and creek: yet afterwards, the greatest part of the nobility and gentry of Meth passed over into England, and were slain with him at Wakefield in Yorkshire.

Lastly, the state of England was so far from sending an army to subdue the Irish at this time, as among the articles of grievances exhibited by the duke of York against king Henry the sixth, this is one. That divers lords about the king had caused his highness to write letters unto some of his Irish enemies; whereby they were encouraged to attempt the conquest of the said land; which letters the same Irish enemies had sent unto the duke, marvelling greatly that such letters should be sent unto them, and speaking therein great shame to the realm of England.

After this, when this great lord was returned into England, and making claim to the crown, began the war betwixt the two houses; it cannot be conceived but that the kingdom fell into a worse and weaker state.

When Edward the fourth was settled in the kingdom of England, he made his brother George duke of Clarence lieutenant of Ireland. This prince was born in the castle of Dublin, during the government of his father, the duke of York; yet did he neither pass over into this kingdom, to govern it in person, though he held the lieutenancy many years. But it is manifest, that king Edward the fourth did not pay any army in Ireland during his reign; but the men of war did pay themselves, by taking coin and livery, upon the country: which extortion grew so excessive and intolerable, as the lord Tiptoft, being deputy to the duke of Clarence, was enforced to execute the law upon the greatest earl in the kingdom; namely, Desmond, who lost his head at Droghda for this offence. Howbeit, that the state

terly, to neglect the defence of pale, there was a fraternity of men at arms, called the brotherhood of saint George, erected by parliament, the fourteenth of Edward the fourth, consisting of thirteen of the most noble and worthy persons within the four shires. Of the first foundation were Thomas earl of Kildare, sir Rowland Eustace lord of Port-lester, and sir Robert Eustace, for the county of Kildare; Robert lord of Howth, the mayor of Dublin, and sir Robert Dowdall, for the county of Dublin; the viscount of Gormanston, Edward Plunket seneshall of Meth, Alexander Plunket, and Barnabe Barnwale, for the county of Meth; the mayor of Drogheda, sir Lawraunce Taafe, and Richard Bellewe, for the county of Lowth. These and their successors were to meet yearly, upon saint George's day; and to choose one of themselves to be captain of that brotherhood for the next year to come; which captain should have at his command one hundred and twenty archers on horseback, forty horsemen and forty pages, to suppress outlaws and rebels. The wages of every archer should be six pence per diem, and every horseman five pence per diem, and four merks per annum. And to pay these entertainments, and to maintain this new fraternity, there was granted unto them by the same act of parliament a subsidy of poundage, out of all merchandises exported or imported throughout the realm (hides, and the goods of freemen of Dublin and Drogheda only excepted.) These two hundred men were all the standing forces that were then maintained in Ireland: and as they were natives of the kingdom, so the kingdom itself did pay their wages without expecting any treasure out of England.

But now the wars of Lancaster and York being ended, and Henry the seventh being in the actual and peaceable possession of the kingdom of England; let us see if this king did send over a competent army to make a perfect conquest of Ireland. Assuredly, if these two idols, (or counterfeits) which were set up against him in the beginning of his reign, had not found footing and followers in this land, king Henry the seventh had sent neither horse nor foot hither, but left the pale to the guard and defence of the fraternity of St. George, which stood till the tenth year of his reign. And therefore, upon the erection of

the first idol, which was Lambert the priest's boy, he transmitted no forces; but sent over sir Richard Edgecomb, with commission to take an oath of allegiance of all the nobility, gentry, and citizens of this kingdom; which service he performed fully, and made an exact return of his commission to the king. And immediately after that the king sent for all the lords of parliament in this realm; who repairing to his presence, were first in a kingly manner reproved by him; for among other things he told them, that if their king were still absent from them, they would at length crown apes; but at last entertained them, and dismissed them graciously. This course of clemency he held at first; but after, when Perkin Warbeck, who was set up, and followed chiefly by the Geraldines in Leinster, and the citizens of Cork in Munster to suppress this counterfeited, the king sent over sir Edward Poynings with an army as the histories call it which did not consist of a thousand men by the poll; and yet it brought such terror with it, as all the adherents of Perkin Warbeck were scattered, and retired for succour into the Irish countries; to the marches whereof he marched with his weak forces, but soon returned, and held a parliament, wherein, among many good laws, one act was made, that no subject should make any war or peace within the land, without the special license of the king's lieutenant or deputy. A manifest argument, that at that time the bordering wars in this kingdom were made altogether by volunteers, upon their own head, without any pay or entertainment, and without any order or commission from the state. And though the lords and gentlemen of the pale, in the nineteenth year of this king's reign, joined the famous battle of Knocktow in Connaught, wherein Mac William, with four thousand of the Irish and degenerate English were slain; yet was not this journey made by warrant from the king, or upon his charge as it is expressed in the book of Howth but only upon a private quarrel of the earl of Kildare: so loosely were the martial affairs of Ireland carried during the reign of king Henry the seventh.

In the time of king Henry VIII. the earl of Surrey, lord admiral, was made lieutenant; and though he was the greatest captain of the English nation then living, yet he brought with him rather an honorable guard for his



person, than a competent army to recover Ireland; for he had in his retinue two hundred tall yeomen of the king's guard. But because he wanted means to perform any great action, he made means to return the sooner: yet in the mean time he was not idle, but passed the short time he spent here in holding a parliament, and divers journies against the rebels in Leinster; insomuch as he was hurt in his own person upon the borders of Leix. After the revocation of this honorable personage, king Henry the eighth sent no forces into Ireland till the rebellion of the Geraldines, which happened in the twenty-seventh year of his reign; then he sent over sir William Skevington with five hundred men, only to quench that fire, and not to enlarge the border, or to rectify the government. This deputy died in the midst of the service, so as the lord Leonard Gray was sent to finish it; who arriving with a supply of two hundred men, or thereabouts, did so prosecute the rebels, as the lord Garret, their chieftain, and his five uncles, submitted themselves unto him, and were by him transmitted into England.

But this service being ended, that active nobleman with his little army, and sometimes aids of the pale, did oftentimes repel O'Neal and O'Donnel, attempting the invasion of the civil shires; and at last made that prosperous fight at Belahoo, on the confines of Meth, the memory whereof is yet famous, as that he defeated, well nigh, all the power of the north, and so quieted the border for many years.

Hitherto then it is manifest, that since the last transference of king Richard the second, the crown of England never sent over either numbers of men, or quantities of treasure, sufficient to defend the small territory of the pale, much less to reduce that which was lost, or to finish the conquest of the whole island.

After this sir Anthony St. Leger was made chief governor, who performed great service in a civil course, as shall be expressed hereafter. But sir Edward Bellingham, who succeeded him, proceeded in a martial course against the Irish, and was the first deputy from the time of king Edward the third, till the reign of king Edward the sixth, that extended the border beyond the limits of the English pale, by beating and breaking the Moors and Connors, and building the forts of Leix and Offaly. This

service he performed with six hundred horse, the monthly charge whereof did arise to seven hundred and seventy pounds; and four hundred foot, whose pay did amount to four hundred and forty-six pounds *per mensem*; as appeareth upon the treasurer's account remaining in the office of the king's remembrancer in England. Yet were not these countries so fully recovered by this deputy, but that Thomas earl of Sussex did put the last hand to this work; and rooting out these two rebellious septs, planted English colonies in their rooms, which in all the tumultuous times since, have kept their habitations, their loyalty, and religion.

And now are we come to the time of queen Elizabeth, who sent over more men, and spent more treasure to save and reduce the land of Ireland, than all her progenitors since the conquest.

During her reign there arose three notorious and main rebellions, which drew several armies out of England: The first of Shane O'Neal; the second of Desmond; the last of Tyrone; for the particular insurrections of the viscount Baltinglass and sir Edmund Butler, the Moors, the Cavanaghes; the Birnes, and the Bourkes of Connaught were all suppressed by the standing forces here.

To subdue Shane O'Neal in the height of his rebellion, in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-six, captain Randal transported a regiment of one thousand men into Ulster, and planted a garrison at Loughfoile. Before the coming of which supply, viz. in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-five the list of the standing army of horse and foot, English and Irish, did not exceed the number of twelve hundred men, as appeareth by the treasurer's account of Ireland, now remaining in the exchequer of England. With these forces did sir Henry Sidney, then lord deputy march into the farthest parts of Tyrone, and joining with captain Randal, did much distress but not fully defeat, O'Neal, who was afterwards slain upon a mere accident by the Scots, and not by the queen's army.

To prosecute the wars in Munster, against Desmond and his adherents, there were transmitted out of England, at several times, three or four thousand men; which, together with the standing garrisons, and some other supplies raised here, made at one time an army of six thousand,

and upwards: which, with the virtue and valour of Arthur lord Gray, and others the commanders, did prove a sufficient power to extinguish that rebellion. But that being done, it was never intended that these forces should stand till the rest of the kingdom were settled and reduced, only, that army which was brought over by the earl of Essex, lord lieutenant and governor general of this kingdom, in the nine and thirtieth year of queen Elizabeth, to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, which was spread universally over the whole realm: that army, I say, the command whereof, with the government of the realm, was shortly after transferred to the command of the lord Montjoy, afterwards earl of Devonshire, who with singular wisdom, valour, and industry, did prosecute and finish the war, did consist of such good men of war, and of such numbers, being well nigh twenty thousand by the poll, and was so royally supplied and paid, and continued in full strength so long a time, as that it broke and absolutely subdued all the lords and chieftains of the Irish, and degenerate or rebellious English. Whereupon the multitude, who ever loved to be followers of such as could master and defend them, admiring the power of the crown of England, being brayed, as it were, in a mortar, with the sword, famine, and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the English government, received the laws and magistrates; and most gladly embraced the king's pardon and peace in all parts of the realm, with demonstrations of joy and comfort; which made, indeed, an entire, perfect, and final conquest of Ireland. And though upon the finishing of the war this great army was reduced to less numbers, yet hath his majesty in his wisdom thought fit still to maintain such competent forces here, as the law may make her progress and circuit about the realm, under the protection of the sword, as Virgo, the figure of justice, is by Leo in the Zodiack, until the people have perfectly learned the lesson of obedience, and the conquest be established in the hearts of all men.

Thus far have I endeavoured to make it manifest, that from the first adventure and attempt of the English, to subdue and conquer Ireland, until the last war with Tyrone, which as it was royally undertaking, so it was really prosecuted to the end, there hath been four main

defects in the carriage of the martial affairs here. First, the armies, for the most part, were too weak for a conquest: secondly, when they were of a competent strength, as in both the journies of Richard the second, they were too soon broken up and dissolved. Thirdly, they were ill paid. And fourthly, they were ill governed, which is always a consequent of ill payment.

But why was not this great work performed before the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, considering that many of the kings her progenitors were as great captains as any in the world, and had elsewhere larger dominions and territories? First, who can tell whether the divine wisdom, to abate the glory of those kings, did not reservé this work to be done by a queen, that it might rather appear to be his own immediate work; and yet for her greater honour, made it the last of her great actions, as it were, to crown all the rest? And to the end that a secure peace might settle the conquest, and make it firm and perpetual to posterity, caused it to be made in that fulness of time when England and Scotland became to be united under one imperial crown, and when the monarchy of Great Britain was in league and army with all the world. Besides, the conquest at this time doth perhaps, fulfil that prophesy wherein the four great prophets of Ireland do concur, as it is recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis, to this effect. That after the first invasion of the English, they should spend many ages in *crebis conflictibus, longoque; certamine et multis cædibus*. And that, "*Omnes fere anglici ab Hibernia turbabuntur: nihilominus orientalia maritima semper obtinebunt; sed vix paulo ante diem judicii; plenam Anglorum populo victoriam compromittunt; insula Hibernica de mari usque ad mare de toto subacta et incastellata.*" If St. Patrick and the rest did not utter this prophesy, certainly Giraldus is a prophet, who hath reported it. To this we may add the prophesy of Merlin, spoken of also by Giraldus. *Sextus mænia Hibernia subvertet, et regiones in regnum redigentur*. Which is performed in the time of king James the sixth; in that all the passes are cleared, and places of fastness laid open, which are the proper walls and castles of the Irish, as they were of the British in the time of Agricola; and

withal, the Irish countries being reduced into counties make but one entire and undivided kingdom.

But to leave these high and obscure causes, the plain and manifest truth is, that the kings of England in all ages had been powerful enough to make an absolute conquest of Ireland, if their whole power had been employed in that enterprise: but still there arose sundry occasions which divided and diverted their power some other way.

Let us therefore take a brief view of the several impediments which arose in every king's time since the first overture of the conquest, whereby they were so employed and busied, as they could not intend the final conquest of Ireland.

King Henry the second was no sooner returned out of Ireland, but all his four sons conspired with his enemies, rose in arms, and moved war against him, both in France and in England.

This unnatural treason of his sons did the king express in an emblem painted in his chamber at Winchester, wherein was an eagle with three eaglets tiring on her breast, and the fourth pecking at one of her eyes. And the truth is, these ungracious practices of his sons did impeach his journey to the Holy Land, which he had once vowed, vexed him all the days of his life, and brought his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. Besides, this king having given the lordship of Ireland to John, his youngest son, his ingratitude afterwards made the king careless to settle him in the quiet and absolute possession of that kingdom.

Richard the first, who succeeded Henry the second in the kingdom of England, had less reason to bend his power towards the conquest of this land, which was given in perpetuity to the lord John, his brother: and therefore, went he in person to the holy wars, by which journey, and his captivity in Austria, and the heavy ransom that he paid for his liberty, he was hindered, and utterly disabled to pursue any so great an action as the conquest of Ireland, and after his delivery and return, he was hardly able to maintain a frontier war in Normandy, where by hard fortune he lost his life.

King John, his brother, had the greatest reason to prosecute the war of Ireland, because the lordship thereof

was the portion of his inheritance, given unto him when he was called John Sans-Tere: therefore, he made two journeys thither; one, when he was earl of Moreton, and very young, about twelve years of age, the other, when he was king, in the twelfth year of his reign. In the first, his own youth and his youthful company, Rehoboam's counsellors, made him hazard the loss of all that his father had

won: But in the latter, he shewed a resolution to recover the entire kingdom, in taking the submission of all the Irish, and settling the estates of the English, and giving orders for the building of many castles and forts, whereof some remain to this day. But he came to the crown of England by a defeasible title, so as he was never well settled in the hearts of the people, which drew him back sooner out of Ireland into England: where shortly after he fell into such trouble and distress, the clergy cursing him on the one side, and the barons rebelling against him on the other, as he became so far unable to return to the conquest of Ireland, as besides the forfeiture of the territories in France, he did in a manner lose both the kingdoms; for he surrendered both to the pope, and took them back again to hold in fee-farm; which brought him into such hatred at home, and such contempt abroad, as all his life-time after, he was possessed rather with fear of losing his head, than with hope of reducing the kingdom of Ireland.

During the infancy of Henry the third, the barons were troubled in expelling the French, whom they had drawn in against king John. But this prince was no sooner come to his majority, but the barons raised a long and cruel war against him.

Into these troubled waters the bishops of Rome did cast their nets, and drew away all the wealth of the realm, by their provisions and infinite exactions: whereby the kingdom was so impoverished as the king was scarce able to feed his own household and train, much less to nourish armies for the conquest of foreign kingdoms. And although he had given this land to the lord Edward, his eldest son, yet could not that worthy prince ever find means or opportunity to visit this kingdom in person. For, from the time he was able to bear arms, he served continually against the barons, by whom he was taken prisoner at the

battle of Lewes, and when that rebellion was appeased, he made a journey to the Holy Land, an employment which in those days diverted all christian princes from performing any great actions in Europe, from whence he was returned when the crown of England descended upon him.

This king Edward the first, who was a prince adorned with all the virtues, did in the managing of his affairs, shew himself a right good husband, who being owner of a lordship ill husbanded, doth first enclose and manure his demesnes near his principal house, before he doth improve his wastes afar off. Therefore, he began first to establish the commonwealth of England, by making many excellent laws, and instituting the form of public justice, which remaineth to this day. Next, he fully subdued and reduced the dominion of Wales; then by his power and authority he settled the kingdom of Scotland; and lastly, he sent a royal army into Gascoigne to recover the dutchy of Aquitain. These four great actions did take up all the reign of this prince. And therefore, we find not in any record that this king transmitted any forces into Ireland; but on the other side, we find it recorded, both in the annals, and in the pipe-rolls of this kingdom, that three several armies were raised of the king's subjects in Ireland, and transported one into Scotland, another into Wales, and the third into Gascoigne; and that several aids were levied here for the setting forth of those armies.

The son and successor of this excellent prince was Edward the second, who, much against his will, sent one small army into Ireland: not with a purpose to finish the conquest, but to guard the person of his minion, Piers Gaveston, who being banished out of England, was made lieutenant of Ireland, that so his exile might seem more honourable.

He was no sooner arrived here, but he made a journey into the mountains of Dublin, broke and subdued the rebels there, built New-castle, in the Birnes country, and repaired Castlekevin: and afterwards passed up into Munster and Thomond, performing every where great service, with much virtue and valour. But the king, who could not live without him, revoked him within less than a year; after which time the invasion of the Scots, and rebellion

of the barons, did not only disable this king to be a conqueror, but deprived him both of his kingdom and life. And when the Scottish nation had overrun all this land under the conduct of Edward le Bruce, who stiled himself king of Ireland, England was not then able to send either men or money to save this kingdom. Only Roger de Mortimer, then justice of Ireland, arrived at Youghall, *cum 38 milit.* saith Friar Clinn in his annals.

But Bremingham, Verdon, Stapleton, and some other private gentlemen, rose out with the commons of Meth and Uriel, and at Fragher near Dundalk, a fatal place to the enemies of the crown of England, overthrew a potent army of them: "Et sic, saith the red book of the exchequer, wherein the victory was briefly recorded, *per manus communis populi, et dextram Dei, deliberatur populus Dei a servitute machinata et precogitata.*"

In the time of king Edward the third, the impediments of the conquest of Ireland are so notorious, as I shall not need to express them; to wit, the war which the king had with the realms of Scotland and France: but especially the wars of France, which were almost continual for the space of forty years. And indeed, France was a fairer mark to shoot at than Ireland, and could better reward the conqueror. Besides, it was an inheritance newly descended upon the king; and therefore he had great reason to bend all his power, and spend all his time and treasure in the recovery thereof. And this is the true cause why Edward the third sent no army into Ireland till the thirty-sixth year of his reign, when the lord Lionel brought over a regiment of fifteen hundred men, as is before expressed; which that wise and warlike prince did not transmit as a competent power to make a full conquest, but as an honourable retinue for his son; and withal, to enable him to recover some part of his earldom of Ulster, which was then overrun with the Irish. But on the other part, though the English colonies were much degenerate in this king's time, and had lost a great part of their possessions; yet lying at the siege of Callais, he sent for a supply of men out of Ireland, which were transported under the conduct of the earl of Kildare and Fulco de la Freyn, in the year thirteen hundred and forty-seven.

And now are we come again to the time of king Rich



ard the second, who for the first ten years of his reign was a minor, and much disquieted with popular commotions; and after that, was more troubled with the factions that arose between his minions and the princes of the blood. But at last he took a resolution to finish the conquest of this realm; and to that end he made two royal voyages hither. Upon the first he was deluded by the feigned submissions of the Irish; but upon the latter, when he was fully bent to prosecute the war with effect, he was diverted and drawn from hence by the return of the duke of Lancaster into England, and the general defection of the whole realm.

As for Henry the fourth, he being an intruder upon the crown of England, was hindered from all foreign actions, by sundry conspiracies and rebellions at home, moved by the house of Northumberland in the north; by the dukes of Surrey and Exeter in the south; and by Owen Glendour in Wales; so as he spent his short reign in establishing and settling himself in the quiet possession of England, and had neither leisure nor opportunity to undertake the final conquest of Ireland. Much less could Henry the fifth perform that work; for in the second year of his reign he transported an army into France, for the recovery of that kingdom; and drew over to the siege of Harfleur the prior of Kilmainham with fifteen hundred Irish; in which great action this victorious prince spent the rest of his life.

After his death, the two noble princes his brothers, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who during the minority of king Henry the sixth, had the government of the kingdoms of England and France, did employ all their counsels and endeavors to perfect the conquest of France; the greater part whereof being gained by Henry the fifth, and retained by the duke of Bedford, was again lost by king Henry the sixth; a manifest argument of his disability to finish the conquest of this land. But when the civil war between the two houses was kindled, the kings of England were so far from reducing all the Irish under their obedience, as they drew out of Ireland, to strengthen their parties, all the nobility and gentry descended of English race: which gave opportunity to the Irish to invade the lands of the English colonies, and did hazard

the loss of the whole kingdom. For, though the duke of York did, while he lived in Ireland, carry himself respectively towards all the nobility, to win the general love of all, bearing equal favor to the Giraldines and the Butlers (as appeared at the christening of George duke of Clarence, who was born in the castle of Dublin, where he made both the earl of Kildare, and the earl of Ormond his gossips;) and having occasion divers times to pass into England, he left the sword with Kildare at one time, and with Ormond at another; and when he lost his life at Wakefield, there were slain with him divers of both those families. Yet afterwards, those two noble houses of Ireland, did severally follow the two royal houses of England; the Giraldines adhering to the house of York, and the Butlers to the house of Lancaster; whereby it came to pass, that not only the principal gentlemen of both those surnames, but all their friends and dependents did pass into England, leaving their lands and possessions to be overrun by the Irish. These impediments, or rather impossibilities of finishing the conquest of Ireland, did continue till the wars of Lancaster and York were ended, which was about the twelfth year of king Edward the fourth.

Thus hitherto the kings of England were hindered from finishing this conquest by great and apparent impediments; Henry the second by the rebellion of his sons, king John, Henry the third, and Edward the second, by the barons wars: Edward the first by his wars in Wales and Scotland: Edward the third and Henry the fifth by the wars of France: Richard the second, Henry the fourth, Henry the sixth, and Edward the fourth, by domestic contention for the crown of England itself.

But the fire of the civil war being utterly quenched, and king Edward the fourth settled in the peaceable possession of the crown of England, what then did hinder that warlike prince from reducing of Ireland also? first, the whole realm of England was miserably wasted, depopulated and impoverished by the late civil dissensions; yet as soon as it had recovered itself with a little peace and rest, this king raised an army, and revived the title of France again: howbeit this army was no sooner transmitted and brought into the field, but the two kings also were brought to an interview: whereupon partly by

the fair and white promises of Lewis the eleventh, and partly by the corruption of some of king Edward's missions, the English forces were broken and dismissed, and king Edward returned into England; where shortly after finding himself deluded and abused by the French, he died with melancholy, and vexation of spirit.

I omit to speak of Richard the usurper, who never got the quiet possession of England, but was cast out by Henry the seventh within two years and an half after his usurpation.

And for king Henry the seventh himself, though he made that happy union of the two houses, yet for more than half the space of his reign, there were walking spirits of the house of York, as well in Ireland as in England, which he could not conjure down, without the expense of some blood and treasure. But in his latter times, he did wholly study to improve the revenues of the crown in both kingdoms; with an intent to provide means for some great action which he intended: which doubtless, if he had lived, would rather have improved a journey into France, than into Ireland, because in the eyes of all men it was a fairer enterprise.

Therefore king Henry the eighth, in the beginning of his reign, made a voyage royal into France; wherein he spent the greatest part of that treasure which his father had frugally reserved, perhaps for the like purpose. In the latter end of his reign he made the like journey, being enriched with the revenues of the abbey lands. But in the middle time between these two attempts, the great alteration which he made in the state ecclesiastical, caused him to stand upon his guard at home; the pope having solicited all the princes of christendom to revenge his quarrel in that behalf. And thus was king Henry the eighth detained and diverted from the absolute reducing of the kingdom of Ireland.

Lastly, the infancy of king Edward the sixth, and the coverture of queen Mary, which are both *non-abilities* in the law, did in fact disable them to accomplish the conquest of Ireland.

So as now this great work did remain to be performed by queen Elizabeth; who though she were diverted by suppressing the open rebellion in the north; by prevent-

ing divers secret conspiracies against her person; by giving aids to the French and states of the low countries; by maintaining a naval war with Spain, for many years together. Yet the sundry rebellions, joined with foreign invasions upon this island, whereby it was in danger to be utterly lost, and to be possessed by the enemies of the crown of England, did quicken her majesty's care for the preservation thereof; and to that end, from time to time during her reign, she sent over such supplies of men and treasure, as did suppress the rebels, and repel the invaders. Howbeit, before the transmitting of the last great army, the forces sent over by queen Elizabeth were not of sufficient power to break and subdue all the Irish, and to reduce and reform the whole kingdom; but when the general defection came, which came not without a special providence for the final good of that kingdom, though the second causes thereof were the faint prosecution of the war against Tyrone, the practices of priests and jesuits, and the expectation of the aids from Spain: Then the extreme peril of losing the kingdom; the dishonour and danger that might thereby grow to the crown of England; together with a just disdain conceived by that great minded queen, that so wicked and ungrateful a rebel should prevail against her, who had ever been victorious against all her enemies, did move, and almost enforce her to send over that mighty army. And did withal enflame the hearts of the subjects of England, cheerfully to contribute towards the maintaining thereof, a million of sterling pounds at least. Which was done with a purpose only to save, and not to gain a kingdom; to keep and retain that sovereignty which the crown of England had in Ireland, such as it was, and not to recover a more absolute dominion. But, as it falleth out many times, that when a house is on fire, the owner, to save it from burning, pulleth it down to the ground; but that pulling down doth give occasion of building it up again in a better form. So these last wars, which to save the kingdom, did utterly break and destroy this people, produced a better effect than was at first expected: for, every rebellion, when it is suppressed, doth make the subject weaker and the prince stronger; so, this general revolt, when it was overcome, did produce a general obedience and re-

formation of all the Irish, which ever before had been disobedient and unreformed; and thereupon ensued the final and full conquest of Ireland.

And thus much may suffice to be spoken, touching the defects in the martial affairs, and the weak and faint prosecution of the war; and of the several impediments, or employments, which did hinder or divert every king of England successively from reducing Ireland to their absolute subjection.

It now remains that we shew the defects of the civil policy and government, which gave no less impediment to the perfection of this conquest.

The first of that kind doth consist in this: that the crown of England did not from the beginning give laws to the Irish: whereas to give laws to a conquered people is the principal mark and effect of a perfect conquest.—For, albeit king Henry the second, before his return out of Ireland, held a council or parliament at Lissemore; “*Ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratanter receptæ, et juratoria cautione præstita confirmatæ,*” as Matthew Paris writes.

And though king John in the twelfth year of his reign did establish the English laws and customs here, and placed sheriffs, and other ministers, to rule and govern the people, according to the law of England, and to that end, “*Ipse duxit secum viros discretos et legis peritos, quorum communi consilio statuit et præcepit, leges Anglicanas teneri in Hibernia, &c.*” as we find it recorded among the patent-rolls in the tower. 11 Henry the third, m. 3. Though likewise king Henry the third did grant and transmit the like charter of liberties to his subjects of Ireland, as himself and his father had granted to the subjects of England, as appears by another record in the tower, 1 Henry the third, pat. m. 13. And afterwards, by a special writ did command the lord justice of Ireland, “*Quod convocatis archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, Baronibus, &c. Coram eis legi faceret chartam regis Johannis; quam ipse legi fecit et jurari à magnatibus Hiberniæ de legibus et constitutionibus anglæ observandis, et quod leges illas teneant et observent.*” 12 Henry the third, *claus. m. 8.* And after that again, the same king, by letters patent under the great seal of England, did confirm

the establishment of the English laws made by king John, in this form. "Quia pro communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, ac unitate terrarum, de communi consilio provisum sit, quod omnes leges et consuetudines quæ in regno Angliæ tenentur, in Hibernia, teneantur, et eadem terra ejusdem legibus subjaceat, ac per easdem regatur, sicut Johannes rex, cum illic esset, statuit et firmiter mandavit; ideo volumus quod omnia brevia de communi jure, quæ currunt in Anglia, similiter currant in Hibernia, sub novo sigillo nostro, &c. Teste meipso apud Woodstocke, &c." Which confirmation is found among the

patent-rolls in the tower, *anno* 30 Henry the third. Notwithstanding, it is evident by all the records of this kingdom, that only the English colonies, and some few septs of the Irish, which were enfranchised by special charters, were admitted to the benefit and protection of the laws of England; and that the Irish generally were held and reputed aliens, or rather enemies to the crown of England; insomuch, as they were not only disabled to bring any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the law, as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in the time of peace.

That the mere Irish were reputed aliens, appeareth by sundry records, wherein judgment is demanded, if they shall be answered in actions brought by them: and likewise by the charters of denization, which in all ages were purchased by them.

In the common plea-rolls of 28 Edward the third, which are yet preserved in Breminham's tower, this case is adjudged. Simon Neal brought an action of trespass against William Newlagh, for breaking his close in Clandalkin in the county of Dublin; the defendant doth plead, that the plaintiff is *Hibernicus, et non de quinque sanguinibus*; and demandeth judgment, if he shall be answered. The plaintiff replieth, "*Quod ipse est de quinque sanguinibus, viz: De les Oneiles de Ulton, qui per concessionem progenitorum domini regis; libertatibus Anglicis gaudere debent et utuntur, et pro liberis hominibus reputantur.*" The defendant rejoineth, that the plaintiff is not of the O'Neals of Ulster, *Nec de quinque sanguinibus*. And thereupon they are at issue. Which being found for the plaintiff, he had judgment to recover his damages against the de-

fendant. By this record it appeareth, that five principal bloods, or septs, of the Irish, were by special grace enfranchised and enabled to take benefit of the laws of England; and that the nation of O'Neals in Ulster, was one of the five. And in the like case, 3 of Edward the second, amongst the plea-rolls in Bremingham's tower: all the five septs or bloods, "*Qui gaudeant lege Anglicana quoad brevia portenda,*" are expressed; namely, "*O'Neil de Ultonia; O'Molaghlin de Mina; O'Connoghor de Connacia; O'Brien de Thotmonia; et Mac Murrough de Lagenia:*" and yet I find, that O'Neal himself long after, viz. in 20 Edward the fourth, upon his marriage with a daughter of the house of Kildare, to satisfy the friends of the lady, was made denizen by a special act of parliament, 20 Edward 4. c. 8.

Again, in the 29th of Edward 1. before the justices in Eyre at Drogheda, Thomas le Botteler brought an action of detinue against Robert de Almain for certain goods. The defendant pleadeth, "*Quod non tenetur ei inde respondere, eo quod est Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine. Et prædictus Thomas dicit, quod Anglicus est, et hoc petit quod inquiratur per patriam, ideo fiat inde jurat. &c. Jurat. dicunt super Sacrament. suum, quod prædict. Thomas Anglicus est, ideo consideratum est quod recuperet, &c.*"

These two records among many other, do sufficiently shew, that the Irish were disabled to bring any actions at the common law. Touching their denizations, they were common in every king's reign, since Henry the second, and were never out of use, till his majesty that now is, came to the crown.

Among the pleas of the crown of 4. Edw. 2. we find a confirmation made by Edward the first, of a charter of denization granted by Henry the second, to certain Oustmen, or Easterlings who were inhabitants of Waterford, long before Henry the second attempted the conquest of Ireland. "*Edwardus Dei gratia, &c. Justiciario suo Hiberniæ salutem. Quia per inspectionem chartæ dom. Hen. reg. filii imperatricis quondam dom. Hiberniæ, proavi nostri nobis constat, quod Oustmanni de Waterford legem Anglicorum in Hibernia habere, et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent; vobis mandamus*

quod Gillichris Mac Gilmurrii, Willielmum et Johanne[m] Gilmurrii et alios Oustmannos de civitate et comitatu Waterford, qui de prædictis Oustmannis prædict. dom. Hen. proavi nostri originem duxerunt; legem Anglicorum in partibus illis juxta tenorem chartæ prædict. habere, et eos secundum ipsam legem, quantum in nobis est deduci faciatis, donec aliud de consilio nostro inde duxerimus ordinand. In cujus rei, &c. Teste meipso apud Acton Burnell, 5 Octobris, Anno Regni nostri undecimo."

Again, among the patent-rolls of 1 Edward the fourth, remaining in the chancery here, we find a patent of denization granted the thirteenth of Edward the first, in these words, "Edwardus Dei gratia, rex Angliæ dom. Hiberniæ, dux Aquitanie, &c. Omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis in Hibernia, salutem: Volentes Christophero filio Donaldi, Hibernico gratiam facere specialem, concedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod idem Christopherus hanc habeat libertatem, viz. quod ipse de cætero in Hibernia utatur legibus Anglicanis, et prohibemus ne quisquam contra hanc concessionem nostram dictum Christopherum vexet in aliquo vel perturbet In cujus rei testimonium, &c. Teste meipso apud Westm. 27 die Junii, Anno Regni nostri, decimo tertio."

In the same roll we find another charter of denization, granted in the first of Edward the fourth, in a more large and beneficial form. "Edw Dei gratia, &c. Omnibus Ballivis, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos volentes Willielmum O'Bolgir capellanum de Hibernica natione existentem, favore prosequi gratioſo, de gratia nostra speciali, &c. Concessimus idem Willielmo, quod ipse liberi fit status, et libera conditionis, et ab omni servitute Hibernica liber et quætuſ, et quod ipse legibus Anglicanis in omnibus et per omnia uti possit et gaudere, eodem modo, quo homines Anglici infra dictam terram eas habent, et iis gaudent et utuntur, quodque ipse respondeat, et respondeatur, in quibuscumque curiis nostris; ac omnimod. terras, tenementa, redditus, et servitia perquire possit sibi et hæredibus suis in perpetuum, &c."

If I should collect out of the records, all the charters of this kind, I should make a thereof; but these may suffice to shew, that the were not reput-



ed free subjects, nor admitted to the benefit of the laws of England, until they had purchased charters of denization.

Lastly, the mere Irish were not only accounted aliens, but enemies, and altogether out of the protection of the law; so as it was no capital offence to kill them; and this is manifest by many records. At a gaol delivery at Waterford, before John Wogan, lord justice of Ireland, the fourth of Edward the second, we find it recorded among the pleas of the crown of that year. "*Quod Robertus le Wayleys rectatus de morte Johannis filii Juor Mac Gillemorry felonice per ipsum interfecti, &c. Venit et bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit, quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine, &c. Et cum dominus dicti Johannis, cujus Hibernicus idem Johannes fuit die quo interfectus fuit, solutionem pro ipso Johanne Hibernico suo sic interfecto petere voluerit, ipse Robertus paratus erat ad respond' de solutione prædict. protjustitia suadebit. Et super hoc venit quidam Johannes le Poor, et dicit pro domino rege, quod prædictus Johannes fuit filius Juor Mac Gillemory, et antecessores sui de cognomine prædict. a tempore quo dominus Henricus filius imperatricis, quondam dominus Hiberniæ, tritavus domini regis nunc, fuit in Hibernia, legem Anglicorum in Hibernia usque ad hunc diem habere, et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent. And so pleaded the charter of denization granted to the Oustmen recited before, all which appeareth at large in the said record; wherein we many note that the killing of an Irishman was not punished by our law as manslaughter, which is felony and capital, for our law did neither protect his life nor revenge his death, but by a fine or pecuniary punishment, which is called an erick, according to the brehon or Irish law.*"

Again, at a gaol-delivery, before the same lord justice at Limerick, in the roll of the same year, we find that "*Willielmus filius Rogeri rectatus de morte Rogeri de Canteton felonice per ipsum interfecti, venit et dicit; quod feloniam per interfectionem prædictam committere non potuit, qua dicit quod prædict. Rogerus Hibernic. est*"

et non de libero sanguine; dicit etiam quod prædict. Rogerus fuit de cognomine de Ohederiscal et non de cognomine de Cantetons, et de hoc ponit se super patriam, &c. Et jurati dicunt super sacram. suum, quod prædictus Rogerus Hibernicus fuit et de cognomine de Ohederiscal et pro Hibernico habebatur tota via sua: ideo prædict. Willielmus quoad feloniam prædict. quietus. Sed quia prædictus Rogerus Ohederiscal fuit Hibernicus Domini Regis, prædict. Willielmus recommittatur Goalæ, quousque plegios invenerit de quinque marcis solvendis domino regi pro solutiona prædicti Hibernici."

But on the other side, if the jury had found, that the party slain had been of English race and nation, it had been adjudged felony: as appeareth by a record of twenty-ninth of Edward, the first in the crown office here.—  
"Coram Waltero Lenfant et sociis suis justitariis itinerantibus apud Drogheda in comitatu Louth. Johannes Laurens indictat de morte Galfridi Dovedal venit et non dedit mortem prædictam: sed dicit quod prædict. Galfridus fuit Hibernicus; et non de libero sanguine, et de bono et malo ponit se super patriam, &c. Et jurat. dicunt super Sacram. suum, quod prædict. Galfridus Anglicus fuit, et ideo prædict. Johannes cupabilis est de morte Galfridi prædict. ideo suspend. Catalla 13 s. unde Hugo de Clinton Vicecom. respondet."

Hence it is, that in all the parliament rolls which are extant from the fortieth year of Edward the third, when the statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, till the reign of king Henry the eighth, we find the degenerate and disobedient English called rebels; but the Irish which were not in the king's peace, are called enemies. Statute Kilkenny. c. 1, 10, and 11. 11 Henry the fourth. c. 24, 10 Henry the sixth, c. 1, 18. 18 Henry the sixth, c. 4. 5. Edward the fourth, c. 6. 10 Henry the seventh, c. 17. All these statutes speak of English rebels; and Irish enemies; as if the Irish had never been in condition of subjects, but always out of the protection of the law; and were indeed in worse case than aliens of any foreign realm that was in amity with the crown of England. For, by divers heavy penal laws, the English were forbidden to marry, to foster, to make gossips with the Irish, or to have any trade or commerce in their markets or fairs; nay, there was a law

made no longer since than the twenty-eighth year of Henry the eighth, that the English should not marry with any person of Irish blood, though he had gotten a charter of denization; unless he had done both homage and fealty to the king in chancery, and were also bound by recognizance with sureties, to continue a loyal subject. Whereby it is manifest, that such as had the government of Ireland, under the crown of England, did intend to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and Irish, pretending, no doubt, that the English should in the end root out the Irish, which the English not being able to do, caused a perpetual war between the nations, which continued four hundred and odd years, and would have lasted to the world's end, if in the end of queen Elizabeth's reign the Irish had not been broken and conquered by the sword, and since the beginning of his majesty's reign had not been protected and governed by the law.

But perhaps the Irish in former times did wilfully refuse to be subject to the laws of England, and would not be partakers of the benefit thereof, though the crown of England did desire it; and therefore they were reputed aliens, outlaws, and enemies. Assuredly the contrary doth appear, as well by the charters of denization purchased by the Irish in all ages, as by a petition preferred by them to the king, anno 2 Edward the third, desiring that an act might pass in Ireland, whereby all the Irish might be enabled to use and enjoy the laws of England, without purchasing of particular denizations. Upon which petition the king directed a special writ to the lord justice, which is found amongst the close-rolls in the tower of London, in this form: "*Rex dilecto et fideli suo Johannis Darcile Nepieu Justic. suo Hiberniæ, salutem: Ex parte quorundam hominum de Hibernia nobis extitit supplicatum, ut per statutum inde faciendum concedere velimus, quod omnes Hibernici qui voluerint, legibus utantur Anglicanis: ita quod necesse non habeant super hoc chartas alias a nobis in impetrare: nos igitur certiora volentes si sine alieno præjudicio præmissis annuere valeamus, nobis mandamus quod voluntatem magnatum terr. illius in proximo parlamento nostro ibidem tenendo super hoc cum diligentia perscrutari facias: et de eo quod inde inveneritis una cum consilio et advisamento nobis certificetis, &c*"

Whereby I recollect, that the great lords of Ireland had informed the king that the Irish might not be naturalized, without damage and prejudice either to themselves or to the crown.

But I am well assured that the Irish desired to be admitted to the benefit of the law, not only in this petition exhibited to king Edward the third, but by all their submissions made to king Richard the second, and to the lord Thomas of Lancaster, before the wars of the two houses; and afterwards to the lord Leonard Gray, and sir Anthony Saint Leger, when king Henry the eighth began to reform this kingdom. In particular, the Birns of the mountains, in 34th of Henry the eighth, desire that their country might be made shire-ground, and called the county of Wicklow: and in the 23d of Henry the eighth, O'Donnel doth covenant with sir William Skeffington, "*Quod si Dominus Rex velit reformare Hiberniam*, whereof it should seem he made some doubt, that he and his people would gladly be governed by the laws of England. Only that ungrateful traitor Tyrone, though he had no color or shadow of title to that great lordship, but only by grant from the crown, and by the law of England; for by the Irish law he had been ranked with the meanest of his sept, yet in one of his capitulations with the state, he required that no sheriff might have jurisdiction within Tyrone, and consequently that the laws of England might not be executed there: which request, was never before made by O'Neal, or any other lord of the Irish, when they submitted themselves; but contrarywise they were humble suitors to have the benefit and protection of the English laws.

This then I note as a great defect in the civil policy of this kingdom, in that for the space of three hundred and fifty years at least after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. For, as long as they were out of the protection of the law; so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil and kill them without control, how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of England? If the king would not admit them to the condition

of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? When they might not converse or commerce with any civil man, nor enter into any town or city without peril of their lives; whither should they fly but into the woods and mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner? If the English magistrates would not rule them by the law which doth punish treason and murder, and theft, with death, but leave them to be ruled by their own lords and laws, why should they not embrace their own brehon law, which punisheth no offence but with a fine or erick? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase estates of freeholds or inheritance, which might descend to their children, according to the course of our common law, must they not continue their custom of tanistrie; which makes all their possessions uncertain, and brings confusion, barbarism, and incivility? In a word, if the English would neither in peace govern them by the law, nor could in war root them out by the sword; must they not needs be pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, till the world's end? and so the conquest never be brought to perfection.

But on the other side; if from the beginning the laws of England had been established, and the brehon or Irish law utterly abolished, as well in the Irish countries, as the English colonies: if there had been no difference made between the nations in point of justice and protection, but all had been governed by one equal, just, and honourable law, as Dido speaketh in Virgil; *tros, tyriusve mihi nullo disctimine habetur*. If upon the first submission made by the Irish lords to king Henry the second; *Quem in regem et dominum receperunt*, saith Matthew Parris; or upon the second submission made to king John, when, *Plusquam viginti reguli maximo timore perterriti homagium ei et fidelitatem fecerunt*, as the same author writeth; or upon the third general submission made to king Richard the second; when they did not only do homage and fealty, but bound themselves by indentures and oaths, as is before expressed, to become and continue loyal subjects to the crown of England: if any of these three kings, who came each of them twice in person into this kingdom, had upon these submissions of the Irish, received them all, both lords and tenants, into their

immediate protection, divided their several countries into counties, made sheriffs, coroners, and wardens of the peace therein: sent justices itinerants half yearly into every part of the kingdom, as well to punish malefactors, as to hear and determine causes between party and party, according to the course of the laws of England, taken surrenders of their lands and territories, and granted estates unto them, to hold by English tenures; granted them markets, fairs, and other franchises, and erected corporate towns among them; all which hath been performed since his majesty came to the crown, assuredly the Irish countries had long since been reformed and reduced to peace, plenty, and civility, which are the effects of laws and good government: they had builded houses, planted orchards, and gardens, erected townships, and made provision for their posterities; there had been a perfect union betwixt the nations, and consequently, a perfect conquest of Ireland. For the conquest is never perfect till the war be at an end, and the war is not at an end till there be peace and unity; and there can never be unity and concord in any one kingdom, but where there is but one king, one allegiance, and one law.

True it is, that king John made twelve shires in Leinster and Munster: namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meth, Uriel, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. Yet these counties did stretch no farther than the lands of the English colonies did extend. In them only where the English laws published and put in execution: and in them only did the itinerant judges make their circuits and visitations of justice, and not in the countries possessed by the Irish, which contained two third parts of the kingdom at least. And therefore king Edward the first, before the court of parliament was established in Ireland, did transmit the statutes of England in this form. "*Dominus rex mandavit breve suum in hæc verba: Edwardus Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, Dominus Hibernia, &c. Cancellario suo Hiberniæ salutem. Quædam statuta per nos de assensu prælatorum, comitum, baronum et communitat. regni nostri nuper apud Lincoln; et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud eborum facta, quæ in dicta terra nostra Hiberniæ ad communem utilitatem populi nostri ejusdem terræ observari*

volumus, vobis mittimus sub sigillo nostro, mandantes quod statuta illa in dicta cancellaria nostra custodiri, ac in rotulis ejusdem cancellaria irrotulari, et ad singulas placeas nostras in terra nostra Hiberniæ, et singulos comitatus ejusdem terræ mitti faciatis ministris nostris placearum illarum, et vicecomitibus dictorum comitatuum: mandantes, quod statuta illa coram ipsis publicari et ea in omnibus et singulis articulis suis observari firmiter faciat. Teste meipso apud Nottingham, &c." By which writ, and by all the pipe-rolls of that time, it is manifest that the laws of England were published and put in execution only in the counties which were then made and limited, and not in the Irish countries, which were neglected and left wild; and have but of late years been divided into twenty-one counties more.

Again, true it is that by the statute of Kilkenny, enacted in this kingdom, in the fortieth year of king Edward the third, the brehon law was condemned and abolished, and the use and practice thereof made high treason. But this law extended to the English only, and not to the Irish: for the law is penned in this form: item, "Forasmuch as the diversity of government by divers laws in one land, doth make diversity of ligeance and debates between the people, it is accorded and established, that hereafter no Englishman have debate with another Englishman, but according to the course of the common law; and that no Englishman be ruled in the definition of their debates, by the march law, or the brehon law, which by reason ought not to be named a law, but an evil custom; but that they be ruled as right is, by the common law of the land, as the lieges of our sovereign lord the king; and if any do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, that he be taken and imprisoned, and judged as a traitor. And that hereafter there be no diversity of ligeance between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England; but that all be called and reputed English, and the lieges of our sovereign lord the king, &c. This law was made only to reform the degenerate English, but there was no care taken for the reformation of the mere Irish; no ordinance, no provision made for the abolishing of their barbarous customs and manners. Inasmuch as the law then made for apparel, and riding in saddles, after

the English fashion, is penal only to Englishmen, and not to the Irish; but the Roman state, which conquered so many nations both barbarous and civil; and therefore knew by experience, the best and readiest way of making a perfect and absolute conquest, refused not to communicate their laws to the rude and barbarous people whom they had conquered; neither did they put them out of their protection after they had once submitted themselves: but contrarywise, it is said of Julius Cæsar: *Qua, vicit, victos protegit ille, manu.* And again, of another emperor:

"Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam,  
Profuit invitis te dominante capi;  
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris,  
Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat."

And of Rome itself;

"Hæc est, in gremium victos quæ sola recepit,  
Humanumque genus communi nomine fuit,  
Matris, non dominæ, ritu; civesque vocavit,  
Quos domuit, nexûque pio longinqua revinxit."

Therefore, as Tacitus writeth, Julius Agricola, the Roman general in Britain, used this policy to make a perfect conquest of our ancestors, the ancient Britains; they were, says he, rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to make war. But to induce them by pleasure to quietness and rest, he exhorted them in private, and gave them helps in common, to build temples, houses, and places of public resort. The noblemen's sons he took and instructed in the liberal sciences, &c. preferring the wits of the Britons before the students of France, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately rejected that speech. After that, the Roman attire grew to be in account, and the gown to be in use among them; and so by little and little they proceeded to curiosity and delicacies in buildings and furniture of household; in bathes, and exquisite banquets; and so being come to the height of civility, they were thereby brought to an absolute subjection.

Likewise our Norman conqueror, though he oppressed the English nobility very sore, and gave away to his ser-



vitors the lands and possessions of such as did oppose his first invasion, though he caused all his acts of council to be published in French; and some legal proceedings and pleadings to be framed and used in the same tongue, as a mark and badge of a conquest; yet he governed all, both English and Normans, by one and the same law: which was the ancient and common law of England, long before the conquest. Neither did he deny any Englishman (that submitted himself unto him) the benefit of that law, though it were against a Norman of the best rank, and in greatest favour, as appeared in the notable controversy between Warren the Norman, and Sherborne of Sherborne castle in Norfolk, for the conqueror had given that castle to Warren; yet when the inheritors thereof had alleged before the king, that he never bore arms against him; that he was his subject as well as the other, and that he did inherit and hold his lands by the rules of that law, which the king had established among all his subjects; the king gave judgment against Warren, and commanded that Sherborne should hold his land in peace. By this means, he obtained a peaceable possession of the kingdom within a few years; whereas, if he had cast all the English out of his protection, and held them as aliens and enemies to the crown, the Normans (perhaps) might have spent as much time in the conquest of England, as the English have spent in the conquest of Ireland.

The like prudent course hath been observed in reducing of Wales; which was performed partly by king Edward the first, and altogether finished by king Henry the eighth. For we find by the statute of Rutland, made the twelfth of Edward the first, when the Welshmen had submitted themselves, *De alto et Basso*, to that king, he did not reject and cast them off, as out-laws and enemies, but caused their laws and customs to be examined, which were in many points agreeable to the Irish or brehon law. "*Quibus diligenter auditus et plenius intellectis, quasdam illarum (saith the king in that ordinance) Consilio procerum dilevimus; quasdam permissimus; quasdam correximus; ac etiam quasdam alias adjiciendas et faciendas, decrevimus;*" and so established a commonwealth among them, according to the form of the English government. After this, by reason of the sundry insurrec-

tions of the barons, the wars in France, and the dissension between the houses of York and Lancaster, the state of England neglected or omitted the execution of this statute of Rutland; so as a great part of Wales grew wild and barbarous again. And therefore king Henry the eighth, by the statutes of the 27th and 32d of his reign, did revive and re-continue that noble work begun by king Edward the first, and brought it indeed to full perfection; for he united the dominion of Wales to the crown of

England, and divided it into shires, and erected in every shire, one borough, as in England; and enabled them to send knights and burgesses to the parliament; established a court of presidency, and ordained that justices of assize and gaol delivery, should make their half year circuits there, as in England; made all the laws and statutes of England, in force there; and among other Welsh customs, abolished that of gavel kind; whereby the heirs-female were utterly excluded, and the bastards did inherit, as well as the legitimate; which is the very Irish gavel-kind. By means whereof that entire country in a short time was securely settled in peace and obedience, and hath attained to that civility of manners, and plenty of all things, as now we find it not inferior to the best parts of England.

I will therefore knit up this point with these conclusions; first, that the kings of England, who in former ages attempted the conquest of Ireland, being ill advised and counselled by the great men here, did not upon the submissions of the Irish, communicate their laws unto them, nor admit them to the state and condition of free subjects: secondly, that for the space of two hundred years at least, after the first arrival of Henry the second in Ireland, the Irish would gladly have embraced the laws of England, and did earnestly desire the benefit and protection thereof; which being denied them, did of necessity cause a continual bordering war between the English and Irish. And lastly, if according to the examples before recited, they had reduced as well the Irish countries, as the English colonies, under one form of civil government, as now they are, the meers and bounds of the marches and borders, had been long since worn out and forgotten, for it is not fit, as Cambrensis writes, that

a king of an island should have any marches or borders. but the four seas, both nations had been incorporated and united; Ireland had been entirely conquered, planted, and improved, and returned a rich revenue to the crown of England.

The next error in the civil policy which hindered the perfection of the conquest of Ireland, did consist in the distribution of the lands and possessions which were won and conquered from the Irish. For the scopes of land which were granted to the first adventurers, were too large; and the liberties and royalties, which they obtained therein, were too great for subjects; though it stood with reason that they should be rewarded liberally out of the fruits of their own labours, since they did *militare propriis stipendiis* and received no pay from the crown of England. Notwithstanding there ensued divers inconveniences, that gave great impediment to the conquest.

First, the earl Strongbow was entitled to the whole kingdom of Leinster; partly by invasion, and partly by marriage; albeit, he surrendered the same entirely to king Henry the second his sovereign; for that with his license he came over; and with the aid of his subjects, he had gained that great inheritance; yet did the king re-grant back again to him and his heirs all that province, reserving only the city of Dublin, and the cantreds next adjoining: with the maritime towns, and principal forts and castles. Next, the same king granted to Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Miles Cogan, the whole kingdom of Cork, from Lismore to the sea. To Philip le Bruce, he gave the whole kingdom of Limerick, with the donation of bishopricks, and abbies, except the city, and one cantred of land adjoining. To sir Hugh de Lacy, all Meth. To sir John de Courcy, all Ulster. To William Burke Fitz-Adelm, the greatest part of Connaught. In like manner, sir Thomas de Clare, obtained a grant of all Thomond; and Otho de Grandison of all Tipperary; and Robert le Poer, of the territory of Waterford, the city itself, and the cantred of the Oostmen only excepted. And thus was all Ireland cantonized among ten persons of the English nation; and though they had not gained the possession of one third part of the whole kingdom, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be granted to the natives

And therefore we do not find in any record or story for the space of three hundred years, after these adventurers first arrived in Ireland, that any Irish lord obtained a grant of his country from the crown, except the king of Thomond, who had a grant during the minority of king Henry the third; and Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, to whom king Henry the second, before this distribution made, did grant, as is before declared, "Ut sit rex subeo; and moreover, Ut teneat terram suam conactiæ ita bene et in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex intravit Hiberniam." And whose successor, in the 24th of Henry the third, when the Bourkes had made a strong plantation there, and had well nigh expelled him out of his territory, he came over into England, as Matth. Paris writes, and made complaint to king Henry the third, of this invasion made by the Bourkes upon his land, insisting upon the grants of king Henry the second, and king John; and affirming, that he had duly paid a yearly tribute of five thousand merks for his kingdom. Whereupon, the king called unto him the lord Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who was then lord justice of Ireland, and president in the court; and commanded him that he should root out that unjust plantation, which Hubert earl of Kent had, in the time of his greatness, planted in those parts; and wrote withal to the great men of Ireland to move the Bourkes, and to establish the king of Connaught in the quiet possession of his kingdom. Howbeit, I do not read, that the king of England's commandment or direction in this behalf was ever put in execution. For, the truth is, Richard de Burgo had obtained a grant of all Connaught, after the death of the king of Connaught then living. For which he gave a thousand pounds, as the record in the tower reciteth, the third of Henry the third, Claus. 2. And besides, our great English lords could not endure that any kings should reign in Ireland, but themselves; nay they could hardly endure that the crown of England itself, should have any jurisdiction or power over them. For many of these lords, to whom our king's had granted these petty kingdoms, did by virtue and colour of these grants, claim and exercise *Jura Regalia* within their territories, insomuch, as there were no less than eight counties palatine in Ireland at one time.

For William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who married the daughter and heir of Strongbow, being lord of all Leinster, had royal jurisdiction throughout all that province. This great lord had five sons, and five daughters, every one of his sons enjoyed that lordship successively, and yet all died without issue. Then this great lordship was broken and divided, and partition made between the five daughters, who were married into the noblest houses of England. The county of Carlow was allotted to the eldest; Wexford to the second, Kilkenny to the third; Kildare to the fourth; the greatest part of Leix, now called the Queen's county, to the fifth. In every of these portions, the copartners severally exercised the same jurisdiction royal, which the earl marshal and his sons had used in the whole province. Whereby it came to pass, that there were five county palatines erected in Leinster. Then had the lord of Meth the same royal liberty in all that territory; the earl of Ulster in all that province; and the lord of Desmond and Kerry within that county. All these appear upon record, and were all as ancient as the time of king John; only the liberty of Tipperary, which is the only liberty that remaineth at this day, was granted to James Butler the first earl of Ormonde, in the third year of king Edward the third.

These absolute palatines made barons and knights, did exercise high justice in all points within their territories, erected courts for criminal and civil causes, and for their own revenues, in the same form, as the king's courts were established at Dublin; made their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators; so as the king's writ did not run in those counties, which took up more than two parts of the English colonies, but only the church lands lying within the same, which were called the cross, wherein the king made a sheriff: And so, in each of these counties palatines, there were two sheriffs; one, of the liberty; and another of the cross: As in Meth we find a sheriff of the liberty and a sheriff of the cross: And so in Ulster, and so in Wexford: And so at this day, the earl of Ormonde maketh a sheriff of the liberty, and the king a sheriff of the cross of Tipperary. Hereby it is manifest, how much the king's jurisdiction was restrained, and the power of these lords enlarged by these high privileges. And it doth further appear, by one article among others,

preferred to king Edward the third, touching the reformation of the state of Ireland, which we find in the tower, in these words: "Item, les franchises grantées in Ireland, que sont Rioalles, telles come Duresme et Cestre, vous oustont cybien de les profits, come de graunde partie de obeissance des persons enfranchises; et en quesunc franchise est chancellerie, chequer et conusans de pleas, cybien de la coronne, come autres communes, et grantont auxi charters de pardon; et sont souent per ley et reasonable cause seisses envostre main, a grand profit de vous; et leigerment restitues per maundement hors de Engleterre, a damage," &c. Unto which article the king made answer: "Le Roy voet que les franchises que sont et seront per juste cause prises en sa main, ne soient my restitues, avant que le roi soit certifie de la cause de la prise de icelles." 26 Edw. 3. c. 1. laus. m. 1. Again, these great undertakers were not tied to any form of plantation, but all was left to their discretion and pleasure. And although they built castles, and made freeholders, yet were there no tenures or services reserved to the crown; but the lords drew all the respect and dependence of the common people unto themselves. Now let us see what inconveniencies did arise by these large and ample grants of lands and liberties to the first adventurers in the conquest.

Assuredly by these grants of whole provinces, and petty kingdoms, those few English lords pretended to be proprietors of all the land, so as there was no possibility left of settling the natives in their possessions, and in consequence the conquest became impossible, without the utter extirpation of all the Irish; which these English lords were not able to do, nor perhaps willing, if they had been able. Notwithstanding, because they did still hope to become lords of those lands, which were possessed by the Irish, whereunto they pretended title by their large grants, and because they feared, that if the Irish were received into the king's protection, and made liege-men and free subjects, the state of England would establish them in their possessions by grants from the crown, reduce their countries into counties, ennoble some of them; and enfranchise all, and make them amenable to the law, which would have abridged and cut off a great part of that greatness which they had promised unto themselves;

they persuaded the king of England, that it was unfit to communicate the laws of England unto them; that it was the best policy to hold them as aliens and enemies, and to prosecute them with a continual war. Hereby they obtained another royal prerogative and power; which was, to make war and peace at their pleasure, in every part of the kingdom, which gave them an absolute command over the bodies, lands, and goods of the English subjects here. And besides, the Irish inhabiting the lands fully conquered and reduced, being in condition of slaves and villains, did render a greater profit and revenue, than if they had been made the king's free subjects.

And for these two causes last expressed, they were not willing to root out all the Irish. We may not therefore marvel, that when king Edward the third, upon the petition of the Irish, as is before remembered, was desirous to be certified, "*de voluntate magnatum suorum in proximo parlamento in Hibernia tenend. si sine alieno prejudicio concedere possit, quod per stat. inde fact. Hibernici utuntur legibus Anglicanis, sive chartis regis inde inpretrandis,*" that there was never any statute made to that effect. For the truth is, that those great English lords did to the uttermost of their power, cross and withstand the enfranchisement of the Irish, for the causes before expressed; wherein I must still clear and acquit the crown and state of England, of negligence or ill policy, and lay the fault upon the pride, covetousness, and ill counsel of the English planted here, which in all former ages, have been the chief impediments of the final conquest of Ireland.

Again, those large scopes of land, and great liberties, with the absolute power to make war and peace, did raise the English lords to that height of pride and ambition, as that they could not endure one another, but grew to a mortal war and dissention among themselves, as appeareth by all the records and stories of this kingdom. First, in the year 1204, the Lacies of Meth, made war upon sir John Courcy; who having taken him by treachery, sent him prisoner into England. In the year, one thousand two hundred and ten, king John coming over in person, expelled the Lacies out of the kingdom, for their tyranny and oppression of the English: Howbeit, upon pay-

ment of great fines, they were afterward restored. In the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-eight, that family being risen to a greater height, for Hugh de Lacy the younger, was created earl of Ulster, after the death of Courcy without issue, there arose dissention and war between that house, and William Marshal lord of Leinster, whereby all Meth was destroyed and laid waste. In the year one thousand two hundred and sixty-four, sir Walter Burke having married the daughter and heir of Lacy, whereby he was earl of Ulster in right of his wife, had, mortal debate with Maurice Fitz-Morice the Geraldine, for certain lands in Connaught. So as all Ireland was full of wars between the Burkes and the Geraldines, say our annals. Wherein Maurice Fitz-Morice grew so insolent, as that upon a meeting at Thistledermot, he took the lord justice himself, sir Richard Capel, prisoner, with divers lords of Munster, being then in his company. In the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-eight, Richard Burke, earl of Ulster, commonly called the red earl, pretending title to the lordship of Meth, made war upon sir Theobald de Verdun, and besieged him in the castle of Athlone. Again, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-two, John Fitz-Thomas the Geraldine, having, by contention with the lord Vesci, gotten a goodly inheritance in Kildare, grew to that height of imagination (saith the story) as he fell into difference with divers great noblemen; among many others, with Richard, the red earl, whom he took prisoner, and detained him in Castle-Ley; and by that dissention, the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, did waste and destroy all the country.

After, in the year thirteen hundred and eleven, the same red earl, coming to besiege Bonratty in Thomond, which was then held by sir Richard de Clare as his inheritance, was again taken prisoner; and all his army consisting for the most part of English, overthrown and cut in pieces by sir Richard de Clare. And after this again, in the year thirteen hundred and twenty-seven, most of the great houses were bandied one against another, viz: the Geraldines, Butlers, and Breninghams, on the one side, and the Burkes and Poers on the other. The ground of this quarrel being none other, but that the



lord Arnold Poer had called the earl of Kildare Rimer. But this quarrel was prosecuted with such malice and violence, as the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny were destroyed with fire and sword, till a parliament was called on purpose to quiet this dissention.

Shortly after, the lord John Bremingham, who was not long before made earl of Louth, for that noble service which he performed upon the Scots, between Dundalk and the Fagher, was so extremely envied by the Gernons, Verdons, and others of the ancient colony, planted in the county of Louth, as that in the year thirteen hundred and twenty-nine, they did most wickedly betray and murder that earl, with divers principal gentlemen of his name and family; using the same speech that the rebellious Jews are said to use in the Gospel:

“ Nolumus hunc regnare super nos.”

After this, the Geraldines and the Butlers being become the most potent families in the kingdom (for the great lordship of Leinster was divided among Copartners, whose heirs for the most part lived in England; and the earldom of Ulster, with the lordship of Meth, by the match of Lionel duke of Clarence, at last descended upon the crown) had almost a continual war one with another. In the time of king Henry the sixth (saith baron Finglas in his discourse of the Decay of Ireland) in a fight between the earls of Ormonde and Desmond, almost all the townsmen of Kilkenny were slain. And as they followed contrary parties during the wars of York and Lancaster, so after that civil dissention ended in England, these houses in Ireland continued their opposition and feud still, even till the time of king Henry the eighth; when by the marriage of Margaret Fitz-Gerald to the earl of Ossory, the houses of Kildare and Ormonde were reconciled, and have continued in amity ever since.

Thus these great estates and royalties granted to the English lords in Ireland, begat pride; and pride begat contention among themselves, which brought forth divers mischiefs, that did not only disable the English to finish the conquest of all Ireland, but did endanger the loss of what was already gained; and of conquerors made them

slaves to that nation which they did intend to conquer. For, whensoever one English lord had vanquished another, the Irish waited and took the opportunity, and fell upon that country which had received the blow; and so daily recovered some part of the lands, which were possessed by the English colonies.

Besides, the English lords to strengthen their parties did ally themselves with the Irish, and drew them in, to dwell among them, giving their children to be fostered among them; and having no other means to pay or reward them, suffered them to take coin and livery upon the English freeholders; which oppression was so intolerable, as that the better sort were forced to quit their free holds, and fly into England; and never returned, though many laws were made in both realms, to remand them back again, and the rest which remained, became degenerate and mere Irish, as is before declared. And the English lords finding the Irish exactions to be more profitable than the English rents and services; and loving the Irish tyranny, which was tied to no rules of law or honor, better than a just and lawful superiority, did reject and cast off the English law and government received the Irish laws and customs, took Irish surnames, as Mac-William, Mac Pheris, Mac Yoris, refused to come to the parliaments which were summoned by the king of England's authority, and scorned to obey those English knights which were sent to command and govern this kingdom; namely, sir Richard Capel, sir John Morris, sir John Darcie, and sir Ralph Ufford. And when sir Anthony Lacy, a man of great authority in the time of king Edward the third, was sent over to reform the notorious abuses of this kingdom, the king doubting that he should not be obeyed, directed a special writ or mandate to the earl of Ulster, and the rest of the nobility, to assist him. And afterwards, the same king, upon good advice and counsel, resumed those excessive grants of lands and liberties in Ireland, by a special ordinance made in England, which remaineth on record in the tower, in this form: "*Quia plures excessivæ donationes terrarum et libertatum in Hibernia ad subdolan machinationem petentium factæ sunt, &c. Rex delusorias huiusmodi machinationes velens elidere, de consilio peritorum sibi assisten-*

tium, omnes donationes terrarum et libertatum prædict. duxit revocandas, quousque de meritis donatorum et causis ab qualitatibus donationum melius fuerit informat, et ideo mandatum est justiciario Hiberniæ quod sciri, faciat, &c. Howbeit, there followed upon this resumption, such a division and faction between the English of birth and the English of blood and race, as they summoned and held several parliaments apart one from the other. Whereupon there had risen a general war betwixt them to the utter extinguishing of the English name and nation in Ireland, if the earl of Desmond, who was head of the faction against the English of birth, had not been sent into England, and detained there for a time: yet afterwards, these liberties being restored by direction out of England, the twenty-sixth of Edward the third, complaint was made to the king of the easy restitution; whereunto the king made answer, as is before expressed: so as we may conclude this point with that which we find in the annals, published by master Cambden: "Hibernici debellati et consumpti fuissent, nisi seditio Anglicorum impeadivisset. Whereunto I may add this note, that though some are of opinion that grants of extraordinary honours and liberties made by a king to his subjects, do no more diminish his greatness than when one torch lighteth another; for it hath no less light than it had before, *Quis vetat appositum lumen de lumine fumi?* Yet many times inconveniences do arise thereupon: and those princes have held up their sovereignty best which have been sparing in those grants. And truly, as these grants of little kingdoms and great royalties to a few private persons, did produce the mischiefs spoken of before. So the true cause of the making of these grants did proceed from this; that the kings of England being otherwise employed and diverted, did not make the conquest of Ireland their own work, and undertake it not royally at their own charge; but as it was first begun by particular adventurers, so they left the prosecution thereof to them, and other voluntaries, who came to seek their fortunes in Ireland; wherein if they could prevail, they thought that in reason and honor they could do no less than make them proprietors of such scopes of land as they could conquer, people and plant at their own charge; reserving only the sovereign lordship to the crown

of England. But if the lion had gone to hunt himself, the shares of the inferior beasts had not been so great; if the invasion had been made by an army transmitted, furnished, and supplied only at the king's charges, and wholly paid with the king's treasure, as the armies of queen Elizabeth and king James have been, the conquest had been sooner achieved, and the servitors had been contented with less proportions.

For, when Scipio, Pompey, Cæsar, and other generals of the Roman armies, as subjects and servants of that state, and with the public charge had conquered many kingdoms and commonwealths, we find them rewarded with honourable offices and triumphs at their return; and not made lords and proprietors of whole provinces and kingdoms, which they had subdued to the empire of Rome. Likewise, when the duke of Normandy had conquered England, which he made his own work, and performed it in his own person, he distributed sundry lordships and manors unto his followers, but gave not away whole shires and countries in demesne to any of his survivors, whom he most desired to advance; only he made Hugh Lupus count palatine of Chester, and gave that earldom to him and his heirs, to hold the same, *ita libere ad gladium, sicut rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam*. Whereby that earldom indeed had a royal jurisdiction and sovereignty, though the lands of that country in demesne, were possessed for the most part by the ancient inheritors.

Again, from the time of the Norman conquest till the reign of king Edward the first, many of our English lords made war upon the Welshmen at their own charge, the lands which they gained they held to their own use; were called lords marchers, and had royal liberties within their lordships. Howbeit, these particular adventurers could never make a perfect conquest of Wales.

But when king Edward the first came in person with his army thither, kept his residence and court there, made the reducing of Wales an enterprise of his own, he finished that work in a year or two, whereof the lords marchers had not performed a third part with their continual bordering war, for two hundred years before. And withal, we may observe, that though this king had now the

dominion of Wales in *jure proprietatis*, as the statute of Rutland, affirmeth; which before was subject unto him but in *jure feodali*: And though he had lost divers principal knights and noblemen in that war, yet did he not reward his servitors with whole countries or counties, but with particular manors and lordships: As to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln, he gave the lordship of Denbigh; and to Reginald Gray the lordship of Ruthen; and so to others. And if the like course had been used in the winning and distributing of the lands of Ireland, that island had been fully conquered before the continent of Wales had been reduced. But the truth is, when private men attempt the conquest of countries at their own charge, commonly their enterprises do perish without success. As when, in the time of queen Elizabeth, sir Thomas Smith undertook to recover the Ardes, and Chatterton, to reconquer then Fues and Orier, the one lost his son and the other himself; and both their adventures came to nothing. And as for the crown of England, it hath had the like fortune in the conquest of this land, as some purchasers have, who desire to buy land at too easy a rate; they find those cheap purchases so full of trouble, as they spend twice as much as the land is worth before they get the quiet possession thereof.

And as the best policy was not observed in the distribution of the conquered lands; so, as I conceive, that the first adventurers, intending to make a full conquest of the Irish, were deceived in the choice of the fittest places for their plantation; for they sat down, and erected their castles and habitations in the plains and open countries, where they found most fruitful and profitable lands, and turned the Irish into the woods and mountains: which, as they were proper places for out-laws and thieves, so were they their natural castles and fortifications; thither they drove their preys and stealths: There they lurked, and lay in wait to do mischief. These fast places they kept unknown, by making the ways and entries thereunto impassable; there they kept their creaghts or herds of cattle, living by the milk of the cow, without husbandry or tillage; there they increased and multiplied unto infinite numbers by promiscuous generation among themselves; there they made their assemblies and conspiracies

without discovery; but they discovered the weakness of the English dwelling in the open plains; and thereupon made their sallies and retreats with great advantage: whereas, on the other side, if the English had builded their castles and towns in those places of fastness, and had driven the Irish into the plains and open countries, where they might have had an eye and observation upon them, the Irish had been easily kept in order, and in short time

reclaimed from their wildness; there they would have used tillage, dwelt together in townships, and learned mechanical arts and sciences. The woods had been wasted with the English habitations, as they are about the forts of Marlborough and Phillipston, which were built in the fastest places in Leinster; and the ways and passages throughout Ireland would have been as clear and open, as they are in England at this day.

Again, if king Henry the second, who is said to be the king that conquered this land, had made forests in Ireland, as he did enlarge the forests in England (for it appeareth by *Charta de Foresta*, that he afforested many woods and wastes, to the grievance of the subject, which by that law were disafforested); or if those English lords, amongst whom the whole kingdom was divided, had been good hunters, and had reduced the mountains, bogs and woods within the limits of forests, chases and parks; assuredly, the very forest law, and the law *de malefactoribus in parcis*, would in time have driven them into the plains and countries inhabited and manured, and have made them yield up their fast places to those wild beasts, which were indeed less hurtful and wild than they. But it seemeth strange to me, that in all the records of this kingdom, I seldom find any mention made of a forest; and never of any park or free-warren, considering the great plenty both of vert and venison within this land; and that the chief of the nobility and gentry are descended of English race; and yet at this day, there is but one park stored with deer in all this kingdom, which is a park of the earl of Ormond's, near Kilkenny. It is then manifest, by that which is before expressed, that the not communicating of the English laws to the Irish; the over large grants of lands and liberties to the English; the plantation made by the English in the plains and open countries, leaving the woods

and open countries, leaving the woods and mountains to the Irish were great defects in the civil policy, and hinder'd the perfection of the conquest very much. Howbeit, notwithstanding these defects and errors, the English colonies stood and maintained themselves in a reasonable good estate, as long as they retained their own ancient laws and customs, according to that of Ennius: "*Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.*" But when the civil government grew so weak and so loose, as that the English lords would not suffer the English laws to be put in execution within their territories and seigniories, but in place thereof, both they and their people embraced the Irish customs: then the estate of things, like a game at Irish, was so turned about, as the English, who hoped to make a perfect conquest of the Irish, were by them perfectly and absolutely conquered, because *victi victoribus leges dedere*. A just punishment to our nation, that would not give laws to the Irish when they might, and therefore now the Irish gave laws to them. Therefore, this defect and failing of the English colonies, and the inducing of the Irish customs in lieu thereof, was the main impediment that did arrest and stop the course of the conquest: and was the only mean that enabled the Irish to recover their strength again.

For, if we consider the nature of the Irish customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them of necessity be rebels to all good government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable law of England, and by the laws of all other well governed kingdoms and commonwealths, murder, man-slaughter, rape, robbery and theft are punished with death; by the Irish custom, or brehon law, the highest of these offences was punished only by fine, which they call an *Ericke*. Therefore, when sir William Fitz-Williams (being lord-deputy) told Maguire that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, being lately before made a county; your sheriff, said Maguire, shall be welcome to me, but let me know his ericke, or the price of his head aforehand; that if my people cut it off, I may put the ericke upon the country. As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, the weak-

er had never any remedy against the stronger: whereby it came to pass, that no man could enjoy his life, his wife, his lands or goods in safety, if a mightier man than himself had an appetite to take the same from him. Wherein they were little better than cannibals, who do hunt one another; and he that hath most strength and swiftness, doth eat and devour all his fellows.

Again, in England, and all well ordered commonwealths, men have certain estates in their lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build, and to plant, and to improve their lands, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish custom of tanistry, the chieftains of every country, and the chief of every sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had some portions of lands allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and cosheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them, but their tanistres, who were elective, and purchased their elections by strong hand; and by the Irish custom of gavelkind, the inferior tenanties were partable amongst all the males of the sept, both bastards and legitimate: and after partition made, if any one of the septs had died, his portion was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity.

These two Irish customs made all their possessions uncertain, being shuffled, and changed, and removed so often from one to another, by new elections and partitions; which uncertainty of estates hath been the true cause of such desolation and barbarism in this land, as the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ. For though the Irish be a nation of great antiquity, and wanted neither wit nor valour; and though they had received the christian faith above twelve hundred years since; and were lovers of music, poetry, and all kind of learning; and possessed a land abounding with all things necessary for the civil life of man, yet which is strange to



be related, they did never build any houses of brick or stone some few religious houses excepted, before the reign of king Henry the second, though they were lords of this island for many hundred years before, and since the conquest attempted by the English: albeit, when they saw us build castles upon their borders, they have only in imitation of us, erected some few piles for the captains of the country; yet I dare boldly say, that never any particular person, either before or since, did build any stone or brick house for his private habitation; but such as have lately obtained estates, according to the course of the law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time, plant any gardens or orchards, inclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs, which made their estate so uncertain and transitory in their possessions.

For, who would plant or improve, or build upon that land, which a stranger, whom he knew not, should possess after his death? For that, as Solomon noteth, is one of the strangest vanities under the sun. And this is the true reason why Ulster, and all the Irish counties are found so waste and desolate at this day; and so would they continue to the world's end, if these customs were not abolished by the law of England.

Again, that Irish custom of gavelkind, did breed another mischief; for thereby every man being born to land as well bastard as legitimate, they all held themselves to be gentlemen. And though their portions were ever so small, and themselves never so poor, for gavelkind must needs in the end make a poor gentility, yet did they scorn to descend to husbandry or merchandise, or to learn any mechanical art or science. And this is the true cause why there were never any corporate towns erected in the Irish countries. As for the maritime cities and towns, most certain it is, that they were built and peopled by the Oostmen or Easterlings: for the natives of Ireland never performed so good a work as to build a city. Besides, these poor gentlemen were so affected unto their small portions of land, as they rather chose to live at home by theft, extortion, and coshering, than to seek any better

fortunes abroad; which increased their septs or surnames into such numbers, as there are not to be found in any kingdom of Europe, so many gentlemen of one blood, family, and surname, as there are of the O'Neales in Ulster, of the Burkes in Connaught; of the Geraldines and Butlers in Munster and Leinster. And the like may be said of the inferior bloods and families; whereby it came to pass in times of trouble and dissention, that they made great parties and factions, adhering one to another, with much constancy; because they were tied together, *vinculo sanguinis*; whereas rebels and malefactors, which are tied to their leaders by no band, either of duty or blood, do more easily break and fall off one from another. And besides, their co-habitation in one country or territory, gave them opportunity suddenly to assemble and conspire, and rise in multitudes against the crown. And even now, in the time of peace, we find this inconvenience, that there can hardly be an indifferent trial had between the king and the subject, or between party and party, by reason of this general kindred and consanguinity.

But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others, was that of coin and livery, often before mentioned, which consisted in taking of man's meat, horsemeat, and money, of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who as the phrase of scripture is, did eat up the people as it were bread; for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay bonaght upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolence, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time: but because there was every where a continual war, either offensive, or defensive; and every lord of a country, and every marcher made war and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual; and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any christian or heathen kingdom. And therefore, *vox oppresorum*, this crying sin, did draw down as great, or greater plagues upon Ireland, than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues

of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance; but the plagues of Ireland, lasted four hundred years together. This extortion of coin and livery did produce two notorious effects: First, it made the land waste, next, it made the people idle. For, when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night, did consume the fruits of all his labour, *longique perit labor irritus anni*. Had he reason then to manure the land for the next year? Or rather might he not complain as the shepherd in Virgil?

"Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?  
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives  
Perduxit miseros? En queis consevimus agros?"

And hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects: and such as remained, became idle, and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times: so as this extreme extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of the idleness of this Irish nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in foreign countries, than to manure their own fruitful land at home.

Lastly, this oppression did of force and necessity make the Irish a crafty people: for such as are oppressed and live in slavery, are ever put to their shifts; *ingenium mala sepe movent*; and therefore, in the old comedies of Plautus and Terence, the bond-slave doth always act the cunning and crafty part. Besides, all the common people have a whining tone or accent in their speech, as if they did still smart or suffer some oppression. And this idleness, together with fear of imminent mischiefs, which did continually hang over their heads, have been the cause, that the Irish were ever the most inquisitive people after news, of any nation in the world. As Saint Paul made observation upon the people of Athens; that they were an idle people, and did nothing but learn and tell news. And because these news-carriers, did, by their false intelligence, many times raise troubles and rebellions in this realm, the statute of Kilkenny doth punish news-tellers, by the name of Skelaghers, with fine and ransom.

This extortion of coin and livery, was taken for the maintenance of their men of war; but their Irish exactions extorted by the chieftains and tanists, by colour of their barbarous seigniory, were almost as grievous a burthen as the other; namely coshering, which were visitations and progresses made by the lord and his followers, among his tenants; wherein he did eat them, as the English proverb is, out of house and home. Sessings of the Kerne, of his family, called Kernety, of his horses and horse-boys; of his dogs and dog-boys, and the like: And lastly, cuttings, tallages, or spendings, high or low, at his pleasure; all which made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villain; and in one respect more miserable than bond-slaves. For commonly the bond-slave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond-slave.

Lastly, there were two other customs proper and peculiar to the Irish, which being the cause of many strong combinations and factions, do tend to the utter ruin of a commonwealth. The one was fostering; the other gossipred; both which have ever been of greater estimation among this people than with any other nation in the christian world. For fostering, I did never hear or read that it was in that use or reputation in any other country, barbarous or civil, as it has been, and yet is, in Ireland; where they put away all their children to fosterers: The potent and rich men selling, the meaner sort buying, the alterage of their children; and the reason is, because in the opinion of this people, fostering hath always been a stronger alliance than blood; and the foster children do love, and are beloved of their foster-fathers, and their sept, more than of their own natural parents and kindred; and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy. And though Tully, in his book of Friendship doth observe, that children of princes being sometimes in cases of necessity, for saving of their lives, delivered to shepherds to be nourished and bred up, when they have been restored to their great fortunes, have still retained their love and affections to their fosterers, whom for many years they took to be their parents; yet this was a rare case, and few examples are to be found thereof.

But such a general custom in a kingdom, in giving and taking children to foster, making such a firm alliance as it doth in Ireland, was never seen or heard of in any other country of the world besides.

The like may be said of gossipred, or compaternity, which though by the canon law, it be a spiritual affinity, and a juror that was gossip to either of the parties, might in former times have been challenged, as not indifferent by our law, yet there was no nation under the sun, that ever made so religious account thereof, as the Irish.

Now these two customs, which of themselves are indifferent in other kingdoms, became exceeding evil and full of mischief in this realm, by reason of the inconveniences which followed thereupon. For they made (as I said before) strong parties and factions, whereby the great men were enabled to oppress their inferiors, and to oppose their equals; and their followers were borne out and countenanced in all their lewd and wicked actions; for fosterers and gossips, by the custom of Ireland, were to maintain one another in all causes lawful and unlawful; which as it is a combination and confederacy punishable in all well governed commonwealths, so was it not one of the least causes of the common misery of this kingdom.

I omit their common repudiation of their wives; their promiscuous generation of children; their neglect of lawful matrimony; their uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging; and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man.

These were the Irish customs, which the English colonies did embrace and use, after they had rejected the civil and honourable laws and customs of England, whereby they became degenerate and metamorphosed like Nebuchadnezzar: who, although he had the face of a man, had the heart of a beast; or like those who had drank of Circe's cup, and were turned into very beasts; and yet took such pleasure in their beastly manner of life, as they would not return to their shape of men again: Insomuch as, within less time than the age of a man, they had no marks or differences left amongst them of that noble nation, from which they were descended. For, they

not only forgot the English language, and scorn the use thereof, but grew to be ashamed of their very English names, though they were noble and of great antiquity; and took Irish surnames and nick-names. Namely, the two most potent families of the Burkes in Connaught (after the house of the red earl failed of heirs males) called their chiefs, Mac William Eighter, and Mac William Oughter. In the same province, Breminham, baron of Athenrie, called himself Mac Yoris. Dexcester or De'xon, was called Mac Jordan. Mangle, or de Angulo, took the name of Mac Costello, of the inferior families of the Burkes, one was called Mac Hubbard, another Mac David. In Munster, of the great families of the Geraldines planted there, one was called Mac Morice, chief of the house of Lixnaw; and another, Mac Gibbon, who was also called the White Knight. The chief of the baron of Dunboyne's house, who is a branch of the house of Ormonde, took the surnames of Mac Pheris. Condon of the county of Waterford, was called Mac Maioge: And Arch-deacon of the county of Kilkenny, Mac Odo. And this they did in contempt and hatred of the English name and nation; whereof these degenerate families became more mortal enemies than the mere Irish. And whereas the state and government being grown weak by their defection, did to reduce them to obedience, grant them many protections and pardons (the cheapness whereof, in all ages, hath brought great dishonour and damage to this commonwealth) they grew so ungrateful and unnatural, as in the end they scorned that grace and favour, because the acceptance thereof did argue them to be subjects; and they desired rather to be accounted enemies than rebels to the crown of England.

Hereupon was that old verse made, which I find written in the white book of the exchequer, in a hand as ancient as the time of king Edward the third.

By graunting charters of peas,  
To false English withouten les,  
This land shall be mich undoo.  
But gossipred, and alterage,  
And leessing of our language,  
Have mickely holp theretoo.

And therefore, in a close-roll in the tower, hearing this title, *Articuli in Hibernia observandi*. we find these two articles among others. "1. Justiciarius Hiberniæ non concedat perdonationes de morte hominis, nec de roboriis, seu incendiis et quod de cætero certificet dominum regem de nominibus petentium. 2. Item, quod nec justiciarius nec aliquis magnas Hiberniæ concedat protectiones alicui contra pacem regis existent. &c." But now it is fit to look back, and consider when the old English colonies became so degenerate; and in what age they fell away into that Irish barbarism, rejecting the English laws and customs. Assuredly, by comparing the ancient annals of Ireland with the records remaining here, and in the tower of London, I do find that this general defection fell out in the latter end of the reign of king Edward the second, and in the beginning of the reign of king Edward the third. And all this great innovation grew within the space of thirty years; within the compass of which time there fell out divers mischievous accidents, whereby the whole kingdom was in a manner lost. For first, Edward le Bruce invaded Ireland with the Scottish army, and prevailed so far, as that he possessed the maritime parts of Ulster, marched up to the walls of Dublin, spoiled the English pale, passed through Leinster and Munster, as far as Limerick, and was master of the field in every part of the kingdom.

This happened in the tenth year of king Edward the second, at which time the crown of England was weaker, and suffered more dishonour in both kingdoms than it did at any time since the Norman conquest. Then did the state of England send over John de Hotham to be treasurer here, with commission to call the great lords of Ireland together; and to take of them an oath of association, that they should loyally join together in life and death to preserve the right of the king of England, and to expel the common enemy: But this treasurer brought neither men nor money to perform this service.

At that time, though Richard Burke earl of Ulster, (commonly called the red earl) was of greater power than any other subject in Ireland, yet was he so far stricken in years, as that he was unable to manage the martial affairs, as he had done during all the reign of king

Edward the first, having been general of the Irish forces, not only in this kingdom, but in the wars of Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne. And therefore Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond, being then the most active nobleman in this realm, took upon him the chief command in this war; for the support whereof the revenue of this land was far too short, and yet no supply of treasure was sent out of England.

Then there was no means to maintain the army, but be sassing the soldiers upon the subject, as the Irish were wont to impose their bonaught. Whereupon grew that wicked extortion of coin and livery, spoken of before; which in a short time banished the greatest part of the freeholders out of the county of Kerry, Limrick, Cork, and Waterford; into whose possessions Desmond, and his kinsmen, allies, and followers, which were then more Irish than English, did enter, and appropriate these lands unto themselves. Desmond himself taking what scopes he liked best for his demesnes in every country, and reserving an Irish superiority out of the rest. And here, that I may verify and maintain, by matter of record, that which is before delivered touching the nature of this wicked extortion, called coin and livery, and the manifold mischiefs it did produce, I think it fit and pertinent to insert the preamble of the statute of the 10th Henry the seventh, c. 4. not printed, but recorded in the parliament-rolls of Dublin, in these words: "At the request and supplication of the commons of this land of Ireland, that where of long time there hath been used and exacted by the lords and gentlemen of this land, many and divers damnable customs and usages, which being called coin and livery, and pay; that is, horse-meat, and man's-meat, for the finding of their horse-men and foot-men; and over that, four pence or six pence daily to every of them, to be had and paid of the poor earth-tillers and tenants, inhabitants of the said land, without any thing doing or paying therefore. Besides many murders, robberies, rapes, and other manifold extortions and oppressions, by the said horse-men and foot-men daily and nightly committed and done; which have been the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of the said land, and have brought the same into ruin and decay, so as the most part of the English freeholders, and



tenants of the said land being departed out thereof, some into the realm of England, and other some to other strange lands; whereupon the foresaid lords and gentlemen of this land have intruded into the said freeholders and tenants inheritances, and the same keepeth and occupieth as their own inheritances; and setteth under them in the same land the king's Irish enemies, to the diminishing of holy church's rites, the desertion of the king, and his obedient subjects, and the utter ruin and desolation of the land: for reformation whereof, be it enacted, that the king shall receive a subsidy of twenty-six shillings and eight pence out of every hundred and twenty acres of arable land manured, &c."

But to return to Thomas Fitz-Maurice of Desmond; by this extortion of coin and livery, he suddenly grew from a mean to a mighty estate; insomuch as the baron Finglas, in his discourse of the decay of Ireland, affirmeth, that his ancient inheritance being not one thousand merks yearly, he became able to expend every way ten thousand pounds per annum.

These possessions, being thus unlawfully gotten, could not be maintained by the just and honorable law of England, which would have restored the true owners to their land again. And therefore this great man found no means to continue and uphold his ill purchased greatness, but by rejecting the English law and government, and assuming, in lieu thereof, the barbarous customs of the Irish. And hereupon followed the defection of those four shires, containing the greatest part of Munster, from the obedience of the law.

In like manner, saith baron Finglass, the lord of Tipperary, perceiving how well the house of Desmond had thriven by coin and livery, and other Irish exactions, began to hold the like course in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; whereby he got greater scopes of land, especially in Ormond, and raised many Irish exactions upon the English freeholders there; which made him so potent and absolute among them, as at that time they knew no other law than the will of their lord. Besides, finding that the earl of Desmond excluded the ordinary ministers of justice, under color of a royal liberty, which he claimed in the counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, by a grant

of king Edward the first, as appeareth in *quo warranto*, brought against him, anno 12 Edw. 1. the record whereof remaineth in Bretingham's tower, among the common plea-rolls there.

This lord also, in the third of Edward the third, obtained a grant of the like liberty in the county of Tipperary, whereby he got the law into his own hands, and shut out the common law and justice of the realm.

And thus we see that all Munster fell away from the English law and government in the end of the reign of king Edward the second, and in the beginning of the reign of king Edward the third. Again, about the same time, viz. in the 20th year of king Edward the second, when the state of England was well nigh ruined by the rebellion of the barons, and the government of Ireland utterly neglected, there arose in Leinster one of the Cavanaghes, named Donald Mac Art, who named himself Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, and possessed himself of the county of Catherlogh, and of the greatest part of the county of Wexford. And shortly after, Lisagh O'Moore called himself O'Moore, took eight castles in one evening, destroyed Dunamase, the principal house of the lord Mortimer, in Leix, recovered that whole county, *de servo Domini, de subjecto princeps effectus*, saith friar Clynne, in his annals.

Besides the earl of Kildare, imitating his cousin of Desmond, did not omit to make the like use of coin and livery in Kildare, and the west part of Meth, which brought the like barbarism into those parts. And thus a great part of Leinster was lost, and fell away from the obedience of the crown, near about the time before expressed.

Again in the seventh year of king Edward the third, the lord William Burke, earl of Ulster, and lord of Connaught, was treacherously murdered by his own squires at Knockfergus, leaving behim him, *unicam et unius anni filiam*, saith friar Clynne. Immediately upon the murder committed, the countess, with her young daughter fled into England; so as the government of that country was wholly neglected, until that young lady being married to Lionel duke of Clarence, that prince came over with an army, to recover his wife's inheritance, and to reform this kingdom, anno 36th of Edward the third. But in the mean time what became of that great inheritance, both in Ulster and

Connaught? Assuredly, in Ulster, the sept of Hugh Boy O'Neale, then possessing Glaucoukeyn and Killeightra in Tyrone, took the opportunity, and passing over the Bann, did first expel the English out of the barony of Tuscard, which is now called the Rout; and likewise out of the Glynnnes, and other lands, as far as Knockfergus; which country, or extent of land, is at this day called the Lower Clan Hugh Boy. And shortly after that, they came up into the Great Ardes, which the Latin writers call *Altin-dines Ultonia*, and was then the inheritance of the savages; by whom they were valiantly resisted for divers years; but at last, for want of castles and fortifications, for the saying of Henry Savage, mentioned in every story, is very memorable, that a castle of bones was better than a castle of stones, the English were overrun by the multitude of the Irish: so as about the 30th of king Edward the third, some few years before the arrival of the duke of Clarence, the savages were utterly driven out of the Great Ardes, into a little nook of land near the river of Strandford; where they now possess a little territory, called the Little Ardes; and their greater patrimony took the name of the Upper Clan Hugh Boy, from the sept of Hugh Boy O'Neale, who became invaders thereof.

For Connaught, some of the younger branches of the family of the Burkes, being planted there by the red earl and his ancestors, seeing their chief to be cut off and dead without heir male, and no man left to govern or protect that province, intruded presently into all the earl's lands, which ought to have been seized into the king's hands, by reason of the minority of the heir. And within a short space, two of the most potent among them divided that great lordship betwixt them: the one taking the name of Mac William Oughtier; and the other of Mac William Eighier; as if the lord William Burke, the last earl of Ulster, had left two sons of one name behind him to inherit that lordship in course of gavelkind. But they well knew, that they were but intruders upon the king's possession during the minority of the heir; they knew those lands were the rightful inheritance of that young lady; and consequently, that the law of England would speedily evict them out of their possession; and therefore, they held it the best policy to cast off the English law, and to become

raere Irish and, according to their example, drew all the rest of the English in that province to do the like; so as from thenceforth they suffered their possessions to run in course of tanistry and gavelkind. They changed their names, language, and apparel, and all their civil manners and customs of living. Lastly, about the twenty-fifth year of king Edward the third, sir Richard de Clare was slain in Thomond, and all the English colonies there entirely supplanted.

Thus in that space of time which was between the tenth year of king Edward the second, and the thirtieth year of king Edward the third, I speak within compass, by the concurrence of the mischiefs before related, all the old English colonies in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, and more than a third part of Leinster, became degenerate, and fell away from the crown of England; so that only the four shires of the English pale, remained under the obedience of the law; and yet the borders and marches thereof, were grown unruly, and out of order too, being subject to black rents and tribute of the Irish; which was a greater defection, than when ten of twelve tribes departed, and fell away from the kings of Juda.

But was not the state of England sensible of this loss and dishonour? Did they not endeavour to recover the land that was lost, and reduce the subjects to their obedience?

Truly king Edward the second, by the incursions of the Scottish nation, and by the insurrection of his barons who raised his wife and his son against him, and in the end deposed him, was diverted and utterly disabled to reform the disorders of Ireland. But as soon as the crown of England was transferred to king Edward the third, though he was yet in his minority, the state there began to look into the desperate state of things here. And finding such general defection, letters were sent from the king to the great men and prelates, requiring them particularly to swear fealty to the crown of England.

Shortly after, sir Anthony Lucy, a person of great authority in England in those days, was sent over to work a reformation in this kingdom, by a severe course; and

to that end, the king wrote expressly to the earl of Ulster, and others of the nobility to assist him, as is before remembered; presently upon his arrival, he arrested Maurice Fitz-Thomas, earl of Desmond, and sir William Bremingham, and committed them prisoners to the castle of Dublin, where sir William Bremingham was executed for treason, though the earl of Desmond was left to mainprize, upon condition he should appear before the king by a certain day, and in the mean time to continue loyal.

After this, the king being apprised that the over-large grants of lands and liberties, made to the lords of English blood in Ireland, made them so insolent, as they scorned to obey the law, and the magistrate, did absolutely resume all such grants, as is before declared. But the earl of Desmond, above all men, found himself grieved with this resumption, or repeal of liberties, and declared his dislike and discontentment, insomuch as he did not only refuse to come to a parliament at Dublin, summoned by sir William Morris, deputy to the lord John Darcy, the king's lieutenant; but as we have said before, he raised such dissention between the English of blood, and the English of birth, as the like was never seen, from the time of the first planting of our nation in Ireland. And in this factious and seditious humour, he drew the earl of Kildare, and the rest of the nobility, with the citizens and burgesses of the principal towns, to hold a several parliament by themselves, at Kilkenny; where they framed certain articles against the deputy, and transmitted the same into England to the king.

Hereupon, sir Ralph Ufford, who had lately before married the countess of Ulster, a man of courage and severity, was made lord justice: who forthwith calling a parliament, sent a special commandment to the earl of Desmond, to appear in that great council; but the earl wilfully refused to come. Whereupon the lord justice raised the king's standard, and marching with an army into Munster, seized into the king's hands all the possessions of the earl, took and executed his principal followers, sir Eustace le Poer, sir William Graunt, and sir John Cotterel; enforced the noble earl himself to fly and lurk, till twenty-six noblemen and knights became mainperners for

his appearance at a certain day prefixed; but he making default the second time, the uttermost advantage was taken against his sureties. Besides, at the same time, this lord justice caused the earl of Kildare to be arrested, and committed to the castle of Dublin; indicted and imprisoned many other disobedient subjects; called in and cancelled such charters as were lately before resumed; and proceeded every way so roundly and severely; as the nobility, which were wont to suffer no controlment, did much

**distate him; and the commons, who in this land have ever been more devoted to their immediate lords here, whom they saw every day, than unto their sovereign lord and king, whom they never saw, spake ill of this governor, as of a rigorous and cruel man, though, in truth, he was a singular good justicer; and, if he had not died in the second year of his government, was the likeliest person of that age to have reformed and reduced the degenerate English colonies, to their natural obedience of the crown of England.**

Thus much then we may observe by the way, that Maurice Fitz-Thomas, the first earl of Desmond, was the first English lord that imposed coin and livery upon the king's subjects; and the first that raised his estate to immoderate greatness, by that wicked extortion and oppression; that he was the first that rejected the English laws and government, and drew others by his example to do the like; that he was the first peer of Ireland that refused to come to the parliament summoned by the king's authority; that he was the first that made a division and distinction between the English of blood, and the English of birth.

And as this earl was the only author and first actor of these mischiefs, which gave the greatest impediment to the full conquest of Ireland, so it is to be noted, that albeit others of his rank afterwards offended in the same kind; whereby their houses were many times in danger of ruin, yet was there not ever any noble house of English race in Ireland, utterly destroyed, and finally rooted out by the hand of justice, but the house of Desmond only; nor any peer of this realm ever put to death (though divers have been attainted:) but Thomas Fitz-James, the earl of Desmond only, and only for those wicked customs

brought in by the first earl, and practised by his posterity, though by several laws they were made high treason. And therefore, though in the 7th of Edward the fourth, during the government of the lord Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, both the earls of Desmond and Kildare were attainted by parliament at Drogheda, for alliance and fostering with the Irish; and for taking coin and livery of the king's subjects, yet was Desmond only put to death; for the earl of Kildare received his pardon. And albeit, the son of this earl of Desmond, who lost his head at Drogheda, was restored to the earldom, yet could not the king's grace regenerate obedience in that degenerate house, but it grew rather more wild and barbarous than before. For from thenceforth they claimed a strange privilege, that the earls of Desmond should never come to any parliament or grand council, or within any walled town, but at their will and pleasure. Which pretended privilege, James earl of Desmond, the father of Girald the last earl, renounced and surrendered by his deed, in the chancery of Ireland, in the 32d of Henry the eighth. At which time, among the mere Irish, he submitted himself to sir Anthony Saint Leger, then the lord-deputy, took an oath of allegiance, covenanted that he would suffer the law of England to be executed in his country, and assist the king's judges in their circuits: And if any subsidies should be granted by parliament, he would permit the same to be levied upon his tenants and followers; which covenants are as strange as the privilege itself, spoken of before. But that which I conceive most worthy of observation, upon the fortunes of the house of Desmond is this; that as Mourice Fitz-Thomas, the first earl, did first raise the greatness of that house by Irish exactions and oppressions; so Girald the last earl, did at last ruin and reduce it to nothing, by using the like extortions. For certain it is, that the first occasion of his rebellion, grew from hence, that when he attempted to charge the decies in the county of Waterford, with coin and livery, black rents and cosheries, after the Irish manner, he was resisted by the earl of Ormond, and upon an encounter, overthrown and taken prisoner; which made his heart so unquiet, as it easily conceived treason against the crown, and bring forth actual and open rebellion, wherein he perished himself, and

made a final extinguishment of the house and honour. Oppression and extortion did maintain the greatness; and oppression and extortion did extinguish the greatness of that house; which may be well expressed by the old emblem of a torch turned downwards, with this word, *quod me alit, extinguit*.

Now let us return to the course of reformation, held and pursued here, after the death of sir Ralph Ufford, which happened in the twentieth year of king Edward 3d. After which time, albeit all the power and counsel of England was converted towards the conquest of France, yet was not the work of reformation altogether discontinued. For in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Edward the third, sir Thomas Rookeby, another worthy governor, (whom I have before named) held a parliament at Kilkenny, wherein many excellent laws were propounded and enacted for the reducing of the English colonies to their obedience; which laws we find enrolled in the remembrancer's office here; and differ not much in substance from those other statutes of Kilkenny, which not long after (during the government of Lionel duke of Clarence) were not only enacted, but put in execution. This noble prince having married the daughter and heir of Ulster, and being likewise a co-partner of the county of Kilkenny, in the 36th year of king Edward the third, came over the king's lieutenant, attended with a good retinue of martial men, as is before remembered, and a grave and honourable council, as well for peace as for war. But because this army was not of a competent strength to break and subdue all the Irish, although he quieted the borders of the English pale, and held all Ireland in awe with his name and presence, the principal service that he intended was, to reform the degenerate English colonies, and to reduce them to obedience of the English laws and magistrates. To that end, in the fortieth year of king Edward the third, he held that famous parliament at Kilkenny, wherein many notable laws were enacted, which do shew and lay open (for the law doth best discover enormities) how much the English colonies were corrupted at that time, and do infallibly prove that which is laid down before, that they were wholly degenerate, and fallen away from their obedience. For first, it appeareth by the preamble of these laws, that



the English of this realm, before the coming over of Lionel, duke of Clarence were at that time become mere Irish in their language, names, apparel, and all their manner of living, and had rejected the English laws, and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom they had many marriages and alliances, which tended to the utter ruin and destruction of the commonwealth: therefore, alliance by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossiped with the Irish, are by this statute made high treason. Again, if any man of English race should use an Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparel, or any other guise or fashion of the Irish; if he had lands or tenements, the same should be seized till he had given security to the chancery, to reform himself in all points to the English manner of living; and if he had no lands, his body was to be taken and imprisoned till he found sureties as aforesaid.

Again it was established and commanded, that the English in all their controversies, should be ruled and governed by the common law of England: And if any did submit himself to the brehon law, or march law, he should be adjudged a traitor.

Again, because the English at that time, made war and peace with the bordering enemy at their pleasure, they were expressly prohibited to levy war upon the Irish, without special warrant and direction from the state.

Again, it was made penal to the English to permit the Irish to creaght or graze upon their lands: to present them to ecclesiastical benefices; to receive them into any monasteries, or religious houses, or to entertain any of their minstrels, or rhymers, or news-tellers: To impose or sess any horse, or foot upon the English subjects against their wills, was made felony. And because the great liberties of franchises spoken of before, were become sanctuaries for all malefactors, express power was given to the king's sheriffs, to enter into all franchises, and there to apprehend all felons and traitors. And lastly, because the great lords, when they levied forces for the public service, did lay unequal burthens upon the gentlemen and freeholders, it was ordained that four wardens of the peace in every county, should set down and appoint what men and armour every man should bear, according to his freehold, or other ability of his estate.

These, and other laws, tending to a general reformation, were enacted in that parliament. And the execution of these laws, together with the presence of the king's son, made a notable alteration in the state and manners of this people, within the space of seven years, which was the term of this prince's lieutenancy.

For all the discourses that I have seen of the decay of Ireland, do agree in this, that the presence of the lord Lionel, and these statutes of Kilkenny, did restore the English government, in the degenerate colonies, for divers years. And the statute of the tenth of Henry the seventh, which reviveth and confirmeth the statutes of Kilkenny, doth confirm as much. For it declareth, that as long as these laws were put in use and execution, this land continued in prosperity and honour. And since they were not executed, the subjects rebelled and digressed from their allegiance, and the land fell to ruin and desolation. And withal, we find the effect of these laws in the pipe-rolls, and plea-rolls of this kingdom: for from the 36th of Edward the third, when this prince entered into his government, till the beginning of Richard the second's reign, we find the revenue of the crown both certain and casual, in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, accounted for; and that the king's writ did run and the common law was executed in all of these provinces. I join with these laws the personal presence of the king's son; as a concurrent cause of this reformation: "Because the people of this land, both English and Irish, out of a natural pride, did ever love and desire to be governed by great persons." And therefore, I may here justly take occasion to note, that first the absence of the kings of England, and next the absence of those great lords, who were inheritors of those mighty seigniories of Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meth, have been main causes why this kingdom was not reduced in so many ages.

Touching the absence of our kings, three of them only since the Norman conquest, have made royal journies into this land; namely, king Henry the second, king John, and king Richard the second. And yet they no sooner arrived here, but that all the Irish (as if they had been but one man) submitted themselves, took oaths of fidelity, and gave pledges and hostages to continue loyal;

and if any of those kings had continued here in person a competent time, till they had settled both English and Irish in their several possessions, and had set the law in a due course throughout the kingdom; these times wherein we live had not gained the honour of the final conquest and reducing of Ireland. For the king (saith Solomon) *dissipat omne malum intuitu suo*. But when Moses was absent in the mount, the people committed idolatry; and when there was no king in Israel, every man did what seemed best in his own eyes.

And therefore, when Alexander had conquered the east part of the world, and demanded of one what was the fittest place for the seat of his empire, he brought and laid a dry hide before him, and desired him to set his foot on the one side thereof; which being done, all the other parts of the hide did rise up; but when he did set his foot in the middle of the hide, all the other parts lay flat and even: which was a lively demonstration, that if a prince keep his residence in the border of his dominions, the remote parts will easily rise and rebel against him: but if he make the centre thereof his seat, he shall easily keep them in peace and obedience.

Touching the absence of the great lords: All writers do impute the decay and loss of Leinster to the absence of the English lords, who married the five daughters of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, to whom that great seigniory descended, when his five sons who inherited the same successively, and during their time, held the same in peace and obedience to the law of England, were all dead without issue: which happened about the fortieth year of king Henry the third: for the eldest being married to Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, who in right of his wife, had the marshalship of England; the second, to Warren de Mountchensey, whose sole daughter and heir was matched to William de Valentia, half brother to king Henry the third, who by that match was made earl of Pembroke; the third, to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester; the fourth to William Ferrers earl of Darby; the fifth to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock. These great lords, having greater inheritances in their own right in England, than they had in Ireland in right of their wives, and yet each of the copartners, had an entire county allotted for

her purparty, as is before declared, could not be drawn to make their personal residence in this kingdom; but managed their estates here, by their senechals and servants: And to defend their territories against the bordering Irish, they entertained some of the natives, who pretended a perpetual title to those great lordships. For the Irish, after a thousand conquests and attainders by our law, would in those days pretend title still, because by the Irish law no man could forfeit his land. These natives taking the opportunity in weak and desperate times, usurped those seigniories; and so Donald Mac Art Cavanagh, being entertained by the earl of Norfolk, made himself lord of the county of Catherlough; and Lisagh O'Moore being trusted by the lord Mortimer, who married the daughter and heir of the lord Bruce, made himself lord of the lands in Leix, in the latter end of king Edward the second's reign, as is before declared.

Again, the decay and loss of Ulster and Connaught is attributed to this; that the lord William Burke, the last earl of that name, died without issue-male; whose ancestors, namely, the red earl and sir Hugh de Lacy, before him, being personally resident, held up their greatness there, and kept the English in peace, and the Irish in awe: but when those provinces descended upon an heir female, and an infant, the Irish over-ran Ulster, and the younger branches of the Burkes usurped Connaught. And therefore the ordinance made in England, the third of Richard the second, against such as were absent from their lands in Ireland, and gave two third parts of the profits unto the king, until they returned, or placed a sufficient number of men to defend the same, was grounded upon good reason of state: which ordinance was put in execution for many years after, as appeareth by sundry seizures made thereupon, in the time of king Richard the second, Henry the fourth, Henry the fifth, and Henry the sixth, whereof there remain records in the remembrancer's office here. Among the rest, the duke of Norfolk himself was not spared, but was impleaded upon this ordinance, for two parts of the profits of Dorbury's island, and other lands in the county of Wexford, in the time of king Henry the sixth. And afterwards, upon the same reason of state, all the lands of the house of Norfolk, of

the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Berkley, and others, who having lands in Ireland, kept their continual residence in England, were entirely resumed by the act of absentees, made in the twenty-eighth year of king Henry the eighth.

But now again, let us look back and see how long the effect of that reformation did continue, which was begun by Lionel duke of Clarence, in the fortieth year of king Edward the third, and what courses have been held, to reduce and reform this people, by other lieutenants and governors since that time.

The English colonies being in some good measure reformed by the statutes of Kilkenny, did not utterly fall away into barbarism again, till the wars of the two houses had almost destroyed both these kingdoms; for in that miserable time, the Irish found opportunity, without opposition, to banish the English law and government out of all the provinces and to confine it only to the English pale: Howbeit, in the mean time, between the government of the duke of Clarence, and the beginning of those civil wars of York and Lancaster, we find that the state of England did sundry times resolve to proceed in this work of reformation.

For first, king Richard the second sent over sir Nicholas Dagworth to survey the possessions of the crown, and to call to account the officers of the revenue; next to draw his English subjects to manure and defend their lands in Ireland, he made that ordinance against absentees, spoken of before. Again, he shewed an excellent example of justice upon sir Philip Courtney, being his lieutenant of that kingdom, when he caused him to be arrested by special commissioners, upon complaint made of sundry grievous oppressions and wrongs, which, during his government, he had done unto that people.

After this, the parliament of England did resolve that Thomas duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, should be employed in the reformation and reducing of that kingdom: the fame whereof was no sooner bruited in Ireland, but all the Irish were ready to submit themselves before his coming, so much the very name of a great personage, especially of a prince of the blood, did ever prevail with this people. But the king and his minions, who were

ever jealous of this duke of Gloucester, would not suffer him to have the honour of that service; but the king himself thought it a work worthy of his own presence and pains: and thereupon himself in person made those two royal journies mentioned before; at which time he received the submissions of all the Irish lords and captains, who bound themselves both by indenture and oath to become and continue his loyal subjects. And withal, laid a particular project for a civil plantation of the mountains and maritime counties, between Dublin and Wexford, by removing all the Irish septs from thence, as appeareth by the covenant between the earl marshal of England and those Irish septs, which are before remembered, and are yet preserved, and remain of record in the king's remembrancer's office at Westminster. Lastly, this king being present in Ireland, took special care to supply and furnish the courts of justice with able and sufficient judges; and, to that end, he made that grave and learned judge, sir William Hankeford, chief justice of the king's bench here, who afterwards for his service in this realm was made chief justice of the king's bench in England, by king Henry the fourth, and did withal associate unto William Sturmy, a well-learned man in the law, who likewise came out of England with the king, that the legal proceedings, which were out of order too, as all other things in that realm were, might be amended, and made formal, according to the course and precedents of England. But all the good purposes and projects of this king were interrupted and utterly defeated by his sudden departure out of Ireland, and unhappy deposition from the crown of England.

Howbeit, king Henry the fourth intending likewise to prosecute this noble work, in the third year of his reign made the lord Thomas of Lancaster, his second son, lieutenant of Ireland: who came over in person and accepted again the submissions of divers lords and captains, as is before remembered; and held also a parliament, wherein he gave new life to the statutes of Kilkenny, and made other good laws tending to the reformation of the kingdom. But the troubles raised against the king, his father, in England, drew him home again so soon, as that seed of reformation took no root at all, neither had his service in that kind any good effect or success.

After this, the state of England had no leisure to think of a general reformation in this realm, till the civil dissensions of England were appeased, and the peace of that kingdom settled by king Henry the seventh.

For albeit, in the time of king Henry the sixth, Richard duke of York, a prince of the blood, of great wisdom and valour, and heir to a third part of the kingdom at least, being earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught and Meth, was sent the king's lieutenant into Ireland, to recover and reform that realm: where he was resident in person for the greatest part of ten years, yet the truth is, he aimed at another mark, which was the crown of England; and therefore he thought it no policy to disgust either the English or Irish by a course of reformation, but sought by all means to please them, and by popular courses to steal away their hearts, to the end he might strengthen his party when he should set on foot his title, as is before declared: which policy of his took such effect as that he drew over with him into England the flower of all the English colonies, especially of Ulster and Meth, whereof many noblemen and gentlemen were slain with him at Wakefield, as is likewise before remembered. And after his death, when the wars between the houses were in their heat, almost all the good English blood, which was left in Ireland, was spent in those civil dissensions; so as the Irish became victorious over all, without blood or sweat: only that little canton of land called the English pale, containing four small shires, did maintain a bordering war with the Irish, and retain the form of English government.

But out of that little precinct there were no lords, knights, or burgesses, summoned to the parliament; neither did the king's writ run in any other part of the kingdom; and yet upon the marches and borders, which at that time were grown so large, as they took up half Dublin, half Meth, and a third part of Kildare and Lowth; there was no law in use but the march-law, which in the statutes of Kilkenny is said to be no law but a lewd custom.

So that upon the end of these civil wars in England, the English law and government was well nigh banished out of Ireland, that no foot-step or print was left of any former reformation.

Then did king Henry the seventh send over sir Edward Poynings to be his deputy, a right worthy servitor, both in war and peace. The principal end of his employment was to expel Perkin Warbeck out of this kingdom; but that service being performed, that worthy deputy finding nothing but a common misery, took the best course he possibly could to establish a commonwealth in Ireland: and to that end he held a parliament, no less famous than that of Kilkenny and more available for the reformation of the whole kingdom. For whereas all wise men did ever concur in opinion, that the readiest way to reform Ireland, was to settle a form of civil government there, conformable to that of England. To bring this to pass, sir Edward Poyninigs did pass an act whereby all the statutes made in England before that time, were enacted, established, and made of force in Ireland. Neither did he only respect the time past, but provided also for the time to come; for he caused another law to be made, that no act should be propounded in any parliament of Ireland, but such as should be first transmitted into England, and approved by the king and council there, as good and expedient for that land, and so returned back again under the great seal of England. This act, though it seemed, *prima facie*, to restrain the liberty of the subjects of Ireland, yet was it made at the prayer of the commons, upon just and important cause.

For the governors of that realm, especially such as were of that country birth, had laid many oppressions upon the commons; and amongst the rest, they had imposed laws upon them, not tending to the general good, but to serve private turns, and to strengthen their particular factions. This moved them to refer all laws that were to be passed in Ireland, to be considered, corrected, and allowed, first by the state of England, which had always been tender and careful of the good of this people, and had long since made them a civil, rich, and happy nation, if their own lords and governors there had not sent bad intelligence into England. Besides this, he took especial order, that the summons of parliament should go into all the shires of Ireland, and not to the four shires only; and for that cause especially, he caused all the acts of parliament lately before holden by the viscount Gormanstown,



to be repealed and made void. Moreover, that the parliaments of Ireland might want no decent or honourable form that was used in England, he caused a particular act to pass, that the lords of Ireland should appear in the like parliament robes as the English lords are wont to wear in the parliaments of England. Having thus established all the statutes of England in Ireland, and set in order the great council of the realm, he did not omit to pass other laws, as well for the increase of the king's revenue, as the preservation of the publick peace.

To advance the profits of the crown, first he obtained a subsidy of twenty-six shillings and eight pence out of every six score acres manured, payable yearly for five years. Next, he resumed all the crown land which had been alienated (for the most part) by Richard duke of York: and lastly, he procured a subsidy of poundage out of all merchandises imported and exported, to be granted to the crown in perpetuity.

To preserve the publick peace, he revived the statutes of Kilkenny. He made wilful murder high-treason; he caused the marchers to book their men, for whom they should answer; and restrained the making war or peace without special commission from the states.

These laws, and others as important as these, for the making of a commonwealth in Ireland, were made in the government of sir Edward Poynings. But these laws did not spread their virtue beyond the English pale though they were made generally for the whole kingdom; for the provinces without the pale, which during the war of York and Lancaster, had wholly cast off the English government, were not apt to receive this seed of reformation, because they were not first broken and matted again with the sword. Besides, the Irish countries, which contained two third parts of the kingdom, were not reduced to shire-ground; so as in them the laws of England could not possibly be put in execution. Therefore these good laws and provisions made by sir Edward Poynings were like good lessons set for a lute that is broken and out of tune, of which lessons little use can be made till the lute be made fit to be played upon.

And that the execution of all these laws had no greater latitude than the pale, is manifest by the statute of

the thirteenth of Henry the eighth, cap. 3. which reciteth, that at that time the king's laws was obeyed and executed in the four shires only; and yet the earl of Surry was then lieutenant of Ireland, a governour much feared of the king's enemies, and exceedingly honoured and beloved of the king's subjects. And the instructions given by the state of Ireland to John Allen, master of the rolls, employed in England near about the same time, do declare as much; wherein, among other things, he is required to advertise the king, that his land of Ireland was so much decayed that the king's laws were not obeyed twenty miles in compass. Whereupon grew that by-word used by the Irish, viz. *That they dwelt bywest the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the barrow*, which is within thirty miles of Dublin. The same is testified by baron Finglas in his discourse of the Decay of Ireland, which he wrote about the twentieth year of king Henry the eighth. And thus we see the effect of the reformation which was intended by sir Edward Poynings.

The next attempt of reformation was made in the twenty-eighth year of king Henry the eighth, by the lord Leonard Grey, who was created viscount of Garry in this kingdom, and held a parliament, wherein many excellent laws were made. But to prepare the minds of the people to obey these laws, he began first with a martial course; for, being sent over to suppress the rebellion of the Giralduines, which he performed in a few months, he afterwards made a victorious circuit round about the kingdom; beginning in Offaly against O'Connor, who had aided the Giralduines in their rebellion; and from thence passing along through all the Irish counties in Leinster, and so into Munster, where he took pledges of the degenerate earl of Desmond and thence into Connaught, and thence into Ulster; and then concluded this warlike progress with the battle of Belahoo, in the borders of Meth, as is before remembered.

The principal septs of the Irish being all terrified, and most of them broken in this journey, many of their chief lords, upon this deputy's return, came to Dublin, and made their submissions to the crown of England; namely, the O'Neales and O'Relies of Ulster; Mac Murrrough, O'Byrne, and O'Carrol, of Leinster; and the Burkes of Connaught.

This preparation being made, he first propounded and passed in parliament those laws which made the great alteration in the state ecclesiastical: namely, the act which declared king Henry the eighth to be supreme head of the church of Ireland: the act prohibiting appeals to the church of Rome: the act for first fruits and twentieth part to be paid to the king: the act for faculties and dispensations; and lastly, the act that did utterly abolish the usurped authority of the pope. Next, for the increase of the king's revenue, by one act he suppressed sundry abbeys and religious houses, and by another act resumed the lands of the absentees, as is before remembered.

And, for the civil government, a special statute was made, to abolish the black-rents and tributes exacted by the Irish upon the English colonies; and another law enacted that the English apparel, language, and manner of living, should be used by all such as would acknowledge themselves the king's subjects. This parliament being ended, the lord Leonard Grey was suddenly revoked, and put to death in England, so that he lived not to finish the work of reformation which he had begun; which, notwithstanding, was well pursued by his successor sir Anthony Saint Leger; unto whom all the lords and chieftains of the Irish and of the degenerate English throughout the kingdom, made their several submissions by indenture, which was the fourth general submission of the Irish made since the first attempt of the conquest of Ireland; whereof the first was made to king Henry the second; the second to king John; the third to king Richard the second; and his last to sir Anthony Saint Leger, in 33d of Henry the eighth.

In these indentures of submission, all the Irish lords do acknowledge king Henry the eighth to be their sovereign lord and king, and desire to be accepted of him as subjects. They confess the king's supremacy in all causes, and do utterly renounce the pope's jurisdiction; which I conceive to be worth the noting, because when the Irish had once resolved to obey the king, they made no scruple to renounce the pope. And this was not only done by the mere Irish, but the chief of the degenerate English families did perform the same; as Desmond, Barry, and Roche, in Munster; and the Burkes, which bore the title of Mac-William, in Connaught.

These submissions being thus taken, the lord-deputy and council for the present government of those Irish countries made certain ordinances of state, not agreeable altogether with the rules of the law of England; the reason whereof is expressed in the preamble of those ordinances; "*Quia nondum sic sapiunt leges et jura, ut secundum eam jam immediate vivere et regi possint.*" The chief points,

**or articles, of which orders registered in the council-book, are these:** That king Henry the eighth should be accepted, reputed, and named king of Ireland, by all the inhabitants of the kingdom: that all archbishops and bishops should be permitted to exercise their jurisdiction in every diocese throughout the land: that tithes should be duly set out and paid; that children should not be admitted to benefices; that for every man-slaughter, and theft above fourteen pence, committed in the Irish countries, the offender should pay a fine of forty pounds; twenty pounds to the king, and twenty pounds to the captain of the country; and for every theft under fourteen pence, a fine of five merks should be paid; forty-six shillings and eight pence to the captain, and twenty shillings to the tanister, that horsemen and kern should not be imposed upon the common people, to be fed and maintained by them: that the master should answer for his servants, and the father for his children; that cutting should not be made by the lord upon his tenants, to maintain war with his neighbors, but only to bear his necessary expenses, &c.

These ordinances of state being made and published, there were nominated and appointed in every province, certain orderers or arbitrators, who instead of these Irish brehons, should hear and determine all their controversies. In Connaught, the archbishop of Tuam, the bishop of Clonsfert, captain Wakely, and captain Ovington. In Munster, the bishop of Waterford, the bishop of Cork and Ross, the mayor of Cork, and mayor of Youghal. In Ulster, the archbishop of Ardmach, and the lord of Lowth. And if any difference did arise which they could not end, either for the difficulty of the cause, or for the obstinacy of the parties, they were to certify the lord deputy and council, who would decide the matter by their authority.

Hereupon the Irish captains of lesser territories, which had ever been oppressed by the greater and mightier; some

with risings out, others with bonaght, and others with cuttings, and spendings at pleasure; did appeal for justice to the lord deputy, who, upon hearing their complaints, did always order, that they should all immediately depend upon the king and that the weaker should have no dependancy upon the stronger.

Lastly he prevailed so much with the greatest of them; namely, O'Neale, O'Brien, and Mac William, as that they willingly did pass into England, and presented themselves to the king, who thereupon was pleased to advance them to the degree and honour of earls, and to grant unto them their several countries, by letters patent. Besides, that they might learn obedience and civility of manners, by often repairing unto the state; the king, upon the motion of the same deputy, gave each of them a house and lands near Dublin, for the entertainment of their several trains. This course did this governor take to reform the Irish; but withal, he did not omit to advance both the honour and profit of the king. For in the parliament which he held the thirty-third of Henry the eighth, he caused an act to pass, which gave unto king Henry the eighth, his heirs and successors, the name, style, and title of king of Ireland; whereas before that time, the kings of England were styled but lords of Ireland; albeit, indeed, they were absolute monarchs thereof, and had in right all royal and imperial jurisdiction and power there, as they had in the realm of England. And yet because in the vulgar conceit, the name of king is higher than the name of lord; assuredly, the assuming of this title hath not a little raised the sovereignty of the king of England in the minds of this people: Lastly, this deputy brought a great augmentation to the king's revenue, by dissolving of all the monasteries and religious houses in Ireland, which was done in the same parliament; and afterward, by procuring Min and Cavendish, two skilful auditors, to be sent over out of England, who took an exact survey of all the possessions of the crown, and brought many things into charge, which had been concealed and substracted for many years before. And thus far did sir Anthony Saint Leger proceed in the course of reformation; which though it were a good beginning, yet was it far from reducing Ireland to the perfect obedience to the crown of England. For all this

while the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good part of Leinster, were not reduced to shire-ground. And though Munster was anciently divided into counties, the people were so degenerate as no justice of assize durst execute his commission amongst them; none of the Irish lords or tenants were settled in their possessions, by any grant or confirmation from the crown, except the three great earls before named; who, notwithstanding, did govern their tenants and followers by the Irish or brehon law; so as no treason, murder, rape, or theft, committed in those countries, was enquired of, or punished by the law of England: and consequently no escheat, forfeiture, or fine, no revenue (certain or casual) did accrue to the crown out of those provinces.

The next worthy governor that endeavoured to advance this reformation, was Thomas earl of Sussex; who having thoroughly broken and subdued the two most rebellious and powerful Irish septs in Leinster, namely, the Moores and O'Connors, possessing the territories of Leix and Offaly, did by act of parliament, in the third and fourth of Phil. and Mariæ, reduce those countries into two several counties; naming the one the King's and the other the Queen's county; which were the first two counties that had been made in this kingdom since the twelfth year of king John; at which time the territories then possessed by the English colonies were reduced into twelve shires, as is before expressed.

This noble earl having thus extended the jurisdiction of the English law into two counties more, was not satisfied with that addition, but took a resolution to divide all the rest of the Irish countries unreduced, into several shires; and to that end he caused an act to pass in the same parliament, authorizing the lord chancellor, from time to time, to award commissions to such persons as the lord deputy should nominate and appoint, to view and perambulate those Irish territories; and thereupon, to divide and limit the same into such and so many several counties as they should think fit; which being certified to the lord deputy, and approved by him, should he returned and enrolled in the chancery, and from thenceforth be of like force and effect, as if it were done by act of parliament.

Thus did the earl of Sussex lay open a passage for the civil government into the unreformed parts of the kingdom, but himself proceeded no further than is before declared.

Howbeit afterwards, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, sir Henry Sidney (who hath left behind him many monuments of a good governor in this land) did not only pursue that course which the earl of Sussex began, in reducing the Irish countries into shires, and placing therein sheriffs and other ministers of the law; (for first he made the annaly, a territory in Leinster, possessed by the sept Offerralles, one entire shire by itself, and called it the county of Longford; and after that he divided the whole province of Connaught into six counties more; namely, Clare, (which containeth all Thomond, Galloway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leytrim), but he also had caused divers good laws to be made, and performed sundry other services, tending greatly to the reformation of this kingdom. For first, to diminish the greatness of the Irish lords, and to take from them the dependancy of the common people, in the parliament which he held 11 Eliz. he did abolish their pretended and usurped captainships, and all exactions and extortion incident thereunto. Next, to settle their seigniories and possessions in the course of inheritance, according to the course of the common law, he caused an act to pass, whereby the lord deputy was authorized to accept their surrenders, and to re-grant estates unto them, to hold of the crown by English tenures and services. Again, because the inferior sort were loose and poor, and not amenable to the law; he provided by another act, that five of the best and eldest persons of every sept should bring in all the idle persons of their surname, to be justified by the law. Moreover, to give a civil education to the youth of this land in the time to come, provision was made by another law, that there should be one free-school, at least, erected in every diocese of the kingdom. And lastly, to inure and acquaint the people of Munster and Connaught with the English government again, which had not been in use among them for the space of two hundred years before, he instituted two presidency courts in those two provinces, placing sir Edward Fitton, in Connaught, and sir John Perrot in Munster.

To augment the king's revenue in the same parliament, upon the attainder of Shane O'Neale, he resumed and vested in the crown more than half the province of Ulster; he raised the customs upon the principal commodities of the kingdom; he reformed the abuses of the exchequer, by many good orders and instructions sent out of England; and lastly, he established the composition of the pale, in lieu of purveyance and sess of soldiers.

These were good proceedings in the work of reformation, but there were many defects and omissions withal; for though he reduced all Connaught into counties, he never sent any justices of assize to visit that province, but placed commissioners there, who governed it only in a course of discretion; part martial and part civil. Again, in the law that doth abolish the Irish captain-ships, he gave way for the reviving thereof again, by excepting such as should be granted by letters patents from the crown, which exception did indeed take away the force of that law. For no governor during queen Elizabeth's reign, did refuse to grant any of those captain-ships of any pretended Irish lord who would desire; and with his thankfulness deserve the same. And again, though the greatest part of Ulster were vested by act of parliament in the actual and real possession of the crown; yet was there never any seizure made thereof, nor any part thereof brought into charge, but the Irish were permitted to take all the profits, without rendering any duty or acknowledgment for the same; and though the name of O'Neale was damned by that act, and the assuming thereof made high treason; yet after that, was Tirlagh Leynnogh suffered to bear that title, and to intrude upon the possessions of the crown, and was yet often entertained by the state with favor. Neither were these lands resumed by the act of the 11th of Elizabeth, neglected only (for the abbies and religious houses in Tyrone, Tirconnell, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the 33d of Henry the eighth, were never surveyed nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by the religious persons) until his majesty that now is, came to the crown; and that which is more strange, the donations of bishopricks, being a flower of the crown, which the kings of England did ever retain in all their dominions, when the pope's usurped authority was at the highest. There were



three bishopricks in Ulster; namely, Derry, Rapho, and Cloghee, which neither queen Elizabeth, nor any of her progenitors did ever bestow, though they were the undoubted patrons thereof. So as king James was the first king of England that did ever supply those sees with bishops, which is an argument either of great negligence, or of great weakness in the state and governors of those times. And thus far proceeded sir Henry Sidney.

After him, sir John Perrot, who held the last parliament in this kingdom, did advance the reformation in three principal points. First, in establishing the great composition of Connaught, in which service the wisdom and industry of sir Richard Bingham did concur with him; next, in reducing the un-reformed parts of Ulster, into seven shires; namely, Ardmagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donagall, Fermanagh and Cavan; though in his time the law was never executed in these new counties by any sheriffs or justices of assize, but the people left to be ruled still by their own barbarous lords and laws; and lastly, by vesting in the crown the lands of Desmond and his adherents in Munster, and planting the same with English, though that plantation was imperfect in many points.

After sir John Perrot, sir William Fitz-Williams did good service in two other points. First, in raising a composition in Munster, and then, in settling the possessions both of the lords and tenants in Monaghan, which was one of the last acts of state, tending to the reformation of the civil government that was performed in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Thus we see by what degrees, and what policy and success the governors of this land, from time to time, since the beginning of the reign of king Edward the third, have endeavoured to reform and reduce this people to the perfect obedience of the crown of England; and we find, that before the civil wars of York and Lancaster, they did chiefly endeavour to bring back the degenerate English colonics to their duty and allegiance, not respecting the mere Irish, whom they reputed as aliens or enemies of the crown. But after king Henry the seventh had united the roses, they laboured to reduce both English and Irish together: which work, to what pass and perfection it was brought in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, hath been before declared.

Whereof sometimes when I do consider, I do in mine own conceit compare these later governors, who went about to reform the civil affairs in Ireland, unto some of the kings of Israel, of whom it is said, that they were good kings; they did not cut down the groves and high places, but suffered the people still to burn incense, and commit idolatry in them: so sir Anthony saint Leger, the earl of Sussex, sir Henry Sidney, and sir John Perrot, were good governors, but they did not abolish the Irish customs, nor execute the law in the Irish countries, but suffered the people to worship their barbarous lords, and to remain utterly ignorant of their duties to God and the king.

And now I am come to the happy reign of my most gracious lord and master king James; in whose time, as there hath been a concurrence of many great felicities, so this among others may be numbered in the first rank, that all the defects in the government of Ireland, spoken of before, have been fully supplied in the first nine years of his reign. In which time there hath been more done in the work and reformation of this kingdom, than in the four hundred and forty years, which are past since this conquest was first attempted.

Howbeit I have no purpose in this discourse, to set forth at large, all the proceedings of the state here in reforming this kingdom, since his majesty came to the crown, for the parts and passages thereof are so many, as to express them fully, would require several treatises. Besides, I, for my part, since I have not flattered the former times, but have plainly laid open the negligence and errors of every age that is past, would not willingly seem to flatter the present. by amplifying the diligence and true judgment of those servitors, that have laboured in this vineyard, since the beginning of his majesty's happy reign.

I shall therefore summarily, without any amplification at all, shew in what manner, and by what degrees, all the defects which I have noted before in the government of this kingdom, have been supplied since his majesty's happy reign began; and so conclude those observations concerning the state of Ireland.

First then, touching the martial affairs, I shall need to say little, in regard that the war which finished the conquest of Ireland, was ended almost in the instant, when the crown descended upon his majesty; and so there remained no occasion to amend the former errors committed in the prosecution of the war. Howbeit, since his majesty hath still maintained an army here, as well for a seminary of martial men, as to give strength and countenance to the civil magistrate; I may justly observe, that this army hath not been fed with coin and livery, or sea, with which extortions the soldier hath been nourished in the times of former princes, but hath been as justly and royally paid, as ever prince in the world did pay his men of war. Besides, when there did arise an occasion of employment for his army against the rebel O'Dugherie; neither did his majesty delay the re-inforcing thereof, but instantly sent supplies out of England and Scotland; neither did the martial men dally or prosecute the service faintly, but did forthwith quench that fire, whereby themselves would have been the warmer, the longer it had continued, as well by the increase of their entertainment, as by booties and spoil of the country. And thus much I thought fit to note, touching the amendment of the errors in the martial affairs.

Secondly, for the supply of the defects in the civil government, these courses have been pursued since his majesty's prosperous reign began.

First, albeit, upon the end of the war, whereby Tyrone's universal rebellion was suppressed, the minds of the people were broken and prepared to obedience of the law; yet the state, upon good reason, did conceive, that the public peace could not be settled, till the hearts of the people were also quieted, by securing them from the danger of the law, which the most part of them had incurred one way or other, in that great and general confusion.

Therefore, first by a general act of state, called the act of oblivion, published by proclamation under the great-seal, all offences against the crown, and all particular trespasses between subject and subject, done at any time before his majesty's reign, were, to all such as would come in to the justices of assize by a certain day, and

claim the benefit of this act, pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question. And by the same proclamation, all the Irish, who, for the most part, in former times, were left under tyranny of their lords and chieftains, and had no defence or justice from the crown, were received into his majesty's immediate protection. This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace, that ever was seen in Ireland.

The public peace being thus established, the state proceeded next to establish the public justice in every part of the realm. And to that end, sir George Carey, who was a prudent governor; and a just, and made a fair entry into the right way of reforming this kingdom, did in the first year of his majesty's reign, make the first sheriffs that ever were made in Tyrone and Tyreconnel; and shortly after sent sir Edmund Pelham chief baron, and myself thither, the first justices of assize that ever sat in those countries: and in that circuit, we visited all the shires of that province besides; which visitation, though it were somewhat distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet they quickly apprehended the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come.

The law having made her progress into Ulster with so good success, sir Arthur Chichester, who with singular industry, wisdom, and courage, hath now for the space of seven years and more, prosecuted the great work of reformation, and brought it well near to an absolute perfection, did in the first year of his government, establish two other new circuits for justices of assize; the one in Connaught and the other in Munster. I call them new circuits, for that, although it be manifest by many records, that justices itinerant have in former times been sent into all the shires of Munster, and some part of Connaught; yet certain it is, that in two hundred years before, I speak much within compass, no such commission had been executed in either of these two provinces. But now, the

whole realm being divided into shires, and every bordering territory, whereof any doubt was made in what country the same should lie, being added or reduced to a county certain, among the rest, the mountains and glynns on the south-side of Dublin, were lately made a shire by itself and called the county of Wicklow; whereby the inhabitants, which were wont to be thorns in the side of the pale, are become civil and quiet neighbours thereof, the streams of the public justice were derived into every part of the kingdom; and the benefit and protection of the law of England communicated to all, as well Irish as English, without distinction or respect of persons; by reason whereof, the work of deriving the public justice grew so great, as that there was *maga mensis, sed operarii pauci*. And therefore the number of the judges in every bench was increased, which do now every half year, like good planets in their several spheres or circles, carry the light and influence of justice, round about the kingdom; whereas the circuits in former times went round about the pale, like the circuit of the Cynosura about the pole.

*Quæ cursu inferiore brevi convertitur orbe.*

Upon these visitations of justice, whereby the just and honourable law of England was imparted and communicated to all the Irish, there followed these excellent good effects.

First, the common people were taught by the justices of assize, that they were free subjects to the kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords. That the cuttings, cosheries, seassings, and other extortions of the lords, were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit themselves thereunto, since they were now under the protection of so just and mighty a prince, as both would and could protect them from all wrongs and oppressions. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and thereupon, the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people, suddenly fell and vanished, when their oppressions and extortions were taken away, which did maintain their greatness. Insomuch, as divers of them, who formerly made themselves owners of all, by force, were now by the law reduced to this point,

that wanting means to defray their ordinary charges, they resorted ordinarily to the lord deputy, and made petition, that by license and warrant of the state, they might take some aid and contribution from their people; as well to discharge their former debts, as for competent maintenance in time to come. But some of them being impatient of this diminution, fled out of the realm to foreign countries. Whereupon, we may well observe, that, "as extortion did banish the old English freeholder, who could not live but under the law; so the law did banish the Irish lord, who could not live but by extortion.

Again, these circuits of justice, did upon the end of the war, more terrify the loose and idle persons, than the execution of the martial law, though it were more quick and sudden; and in a short time after, did so clear the kingdom of thieves, and other capital offenders, as I dare affirm, that for the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors worthy of death in all the six circuits of this realm, which is now divided into thirty-two shires at large, as in one circuit of six shires; namely, the western circuit in England; for the truth is, that in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law, than the English, or any other nation whatsoever.

Again, whereas the greatest advantage that the Irish had of us in all their rebellions, was, our ignorance of their countries, their persons, and their actions. Since the law and her ministers have had a passage among them, all their places of fastness have been discovered and laid open; all their passes cleared, and notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known, not only how they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do. Insomuch, as Tyrone hath been heard to complain, that he had so many eyes watching over him, as he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof, within few hours after. And therefore, those allowances which I find in the ancient pipe-rolls, *pro guidagio et spiagio*, may be well spared at this day. Under sheriffs and bailiffs-errant, are better guides and spies in the time of peace, than any were found in the time of war.

Moreover, these civil assemblies at assizes and sessions have reclaimed the Irish from their wildness, caused them to cut off their glibs and long hair; to convert their mantles into cloaks; to conform themselves to the manner of England in all their behaviour, and outward forms. And because they find a great inconvenience in moving their suits by an interpreter, they do for the most part send their children to schools, especially to learn the English language. So as we may conceive and hope, that the next generation will in tongue and heart, and every way else, become English; so as there will be no difference or distinction, but the Irish sea, betwixt us. And thus we see a good conversion, and the Irish game turned again.

For heretofore the neglect of the law made the English degenerate, and become Irish; and now, on the other side, the execution of the law doth make the Irish grow civil and become English.

Lastly, these general sessions now do teach the people more obedience, and keep them more in awe, than did the general hostings in former times. These progresses of the law renew and confirm the conquest of Ireland every half year, and supply the defect of the king's absence in every part of the realm; in that every judge sitting in the seat of justice, doth represent the person of the king himself.

These effects hath the establishment of the public peace and justice produced, since his majesty's happy reign began.

Howbeit, it was impossible to make a commonwealth in Ireland without performing another service, which was the settling of all the estates and professions, as well of Irish as English, throughout the kingdom.

For, although that in the twelfth year of queen Elizabeth, a special law was made which did enable the lord deputy to take surrenders, and re-grant estates to the Irish (upon signification of her majesty's pleasure in that behalf;) yet were there but few of the Irish lords that made offer to surrender during her reign; and they who made surrenders of entire countries, obtained grants of the whole again to themselves only: and to no other; and all in demesne. In passing of which grants, there was

no care taken of the inferior septs of people, inhabiting and possessing these countries under them, but they held their several portions in course of tanishry and gavelkind, and yielded the same Irish duties and exactions, as they did before—So that upon every such surrender and grant there was but one freeholder made in a whole country, which was the lord himself; all the rest were but tenants at will, or rather tenants in villenage, and were neither fit to be sworn in juries, nor to perform any public service—And by reason of the uncertainty of their estates, did utterly neglect to build, or to plant, or to improve the land. And therefore, although the lord was become the king's tenant, his country was no whit reformed thereby, but remained in the former barbarism and desolation.

Again, in the same queen's time, there were many Irish lords who did not surrender, yet obtained letters patents of the captainships of their countries, and of all lands and duties belonging to those captainships. For the statute which does condemn and abolish those captainships usurp'd by the Irish, doth give power to the lord deputy to grant the same by letters patents; howbeit, these Irish captains, and likewise the English, who were made sonetichals of the Irish countries, did, by colour of these grants, and under pretence of government, claim an Irish seigniorie; and exercise plain tyranny over the common people. And this was the fruit that did arise of the letters patents granted of the Irish countries in the time of queen Elizabeth, where before they did extort and oppress the people only by colour of a lewd and barbarous custom; they did afterwards use the same extortions and oppressions by warrant under the great seal of the realm.

But now, since his majesty came to the crown, two special commissions have been sent out of England for the settling and quieting of all the possessions in Ireland; the one for accepting surrenders of the Irish and degenerate English, and for re-granting estates unto them, according to the course of the common law: the other for strengthening of defective titles; in the execution of which commissions, there hath ever been had a special care, to settle and secure the under-tenants; to the end, there might be a repose and establishment of every subject's



estate, lord and tenant, freeholder and farmer, throughout the kingdom.

Upon surrenders, this course hath been held from the beginning; when an Irish lord doth offer to surrender his country, his surrender is not immediately accepted, but a commission is first awarded, to enquire of three special points. First, of the quantity and limits of the land whereof he is reputed owner. Next, how much himself doth hold in demesne, and how much is possest by his tenants and followers. And thirdly, what customs, duties, and services, he doth yearly receive out of those lands. This inquisition being made and returned, the lands which are found to be the lord's proper possessions in demesne, are drawn into a particular, and his Irish duties, as cosherings, sessings, rents of butter, and oatmeal, and the like, are reasonably valued and reduced into certain sums of money, to be paid yearly in lieu thereof. This being done, the surrender is accepted; and thereupon a grant is passed, not of the whole country, as was used in former times, but of those lands only, which are found in the lord's possession, and of those certain sums of money, as rents issuing out of the rest. But the lands which are found to be possessed by the tenants, are left unto them, respectively charged these certain rents only, in lieu of all uncertain Irish exactions.

In like manner, upon all grants, which have past by virtue of the commission, for defective titles, the commissioners have taken special caution, for preservation of the estates of all particular tenants.

And as for grants of captainships, seneschalships, in the Irish countries; albeit, this deputy had as much power and authority to grant the same, as any other governors had before him; and might have raised as much profit by bestowing the same, if he had respected his private, more than the public good; yet hath he been so far from passing any such in all his time, as he hath endeavoured to resume all the grants of that kind, that have been made by his predecessors; to the end, the inferior subjects of the realm should make their only and immediate dependency upon the crown. And thus we see, how the greatest part of the possessions, as well as of the Irish as of the English, in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, are settled

and secured since his majesty came to the crown, whereby the hearts of the people are also settled, not only to live in peace, but raised and encouraged to build, to plant, to give better education to their children, and to improve the commodities of their lands; whereby the yearly value thereof is already increased double of that it was within these few years, and is likely to rise higher, till it amount to the price of our land in England.

Lastly, the possessions of the Irish in the province of Ulster, though it were the most rude and unreformed part of Ireland, and the seat and nest of the last great rebellion, are now better disposed and established than any of the lands in the other provinces, which have been past and settled upon surrenders. For, as the occasion of the disposing of those lands, did not happen without the special providence and finger of God, which did cast out those wicked and ungrateful traitors, who were the only enemies of the reformation of Ireland; so the distribution and plantation thereof hath been projected and prosecuted by the special direction and care of the king himself; wherein his majesty hath corrected the errors before spoken of, committed by king Henry the second, and king John, in distributing and planting the first conquered lands. For, although there were six whole shires to be disposed, his majesty gave not an entire country, or county, to any particular person; much less did grant *jura regalia*, or any extraordinary liberties. For the best British undertaker had but a proportion of 3000 acres for himself, with power to create a manor, and hold a court baron; albeit, many of these undertakers were of as great birth and quality as the best adventurers in the first conquest. Again, his majesty did not utterly exclude the natives out of his plantation, with a purpose to root them out, as the Irish were excluded out of the first English colonies; but made a mixed plantation of British and Irish, that they might grow up together in one nation; only the Irish were in some places transplanted from the woods and mountains, into the plains and open countries, that being removed (like wild fruit-trees) they might grow the milder and bear the better and sweeter fruit. And this truly is the master-piece, and most excellent part of the work of reformation, and is worthy, indeed, of his majesty's royal

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pains. For when this plantation hath taken root, and been fixed and settled but a few years, with the favour and blessing of God, (for the Son of God himself hath said in the gospel, "Omnia plantatio, quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicatur") it will secure the peace of Ireland, assure it to the crown of England for ever; and, finally, make it a civil and a rich, a mighty and a flourishing kingdom.

I omit to speak of the increase of the revenue of the crown, both certain and casual, which is raised to a double proportion (at least) above that it was, by deriving the public justice into all parts of the realm, by settling all the possessions, both of the Irish and English; by re-establishing the compositions; by restoring and resuming the customs; by reviving the tenures in *capite*, and knight-service; and reducing many other things into charge, which by the confusion and negligence of former times became concealed and subtracted from the crown. I forbear likewise to speak of the due and ready bringing in of the revenue, which is brought to pass by the well ordering of the court of exchequer, and the authority and pains of the commissioners for accompts.

I might also add hereunto, the encouragement that hath been given to the maritime towns and cities, as well to increase their trade of merchandise, as to cherish mechanical arts and sciences; in that all their charters have been renewed, and their liberties more enlarged by his majesty, than by any of his progenitors since the conquest. As likewise, the care and course that hath been taken, to make civil commerce and intercourse between the subjects newly reformed and brought under obedience, by granting markets and fairs to be holden in their countries, and by erecting of corporate towns among them.

Briefly, the clock of the civil government is now well set, and the wheels thereof do move in order; the strings of this Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are all in tune (for I omit to speak of the state ecclesiastical) and make a good harmony in this commonwealth; so as we may well conceive hope that Ireland, which heretofore might properly be called the *land of ire*, because the irascible power was predominant there for the space of four hundred years together, will from henceforth prove a *land of peace and concord*. And though heretofore it hath

been like the lean cow of Egypt, in Pharaoh's dream, devouring the fat of England, and yet remaining as lean as it was before, it will hereafter be as fruitful as the land of Canaan; the description whereof, in the 8th of Deuteronomy, doth in every part agree with Ireland; being "*Terra rivorum, aquarumque et fontium; in cujus campis, et montibus, erumpunt fluviorum abyssi; terra frumenti et hordei; terra lactis et mellis, ubi absque ulla penuria comedes panem tuum, et rerum abundantia perfrueris.*"

And thus I have discovered, and expressed the defects and errors, as well in the managing of the martial affairs, as of the civil; which in former ages gave impediment to the reducing of all Ireland to the obedience and subjection to the crown of England. I have likewise observed what courses have been taken to reform the defects and errors in government, and to reduce the people of this land to obedience, since the beginning of the reign of king Edw. 3. till the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth.

And lastly, I have declared and set forth, how all the said errors have been corrected, and the defects supplied under the prosperous government of his majesty; so as I may positively conclude in the same words, which I have used in the title of this discourse; that until the beginning of his majesty's reign, Ireland was never entirely subdued, and brought under the obedience of the crown of England. But since the crown of this kingdom, with the undoubted right and title thereof descended upon his majesty, the whole island from sea to sea, hath been brought into his highness' peaceable possession; and all the inhabitants, in every corner thereof, have been absolutely reduced under his immediate subjection. In which condition of subjects they will gladly continue, without defection, or adhering to any other lord or king, as long as they may be protected, and justly governed, without oppression on the one side, or impunity on the other. For there is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves; so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it.

FINIS.

## REMARKS

BY THE AMERICAN PUBLISHERS.

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SIR Edward Coke's prayer in his notes upon the institutes of literature, may be adopted with suitable reverence, in entering upon sir John Davies' remarks upon the state of Ireland, and the plantation of Ulster. The subject is delicate and worthy of a patriotic pen—We wish to do justice to the spirit of Ireland and Irishmen, in vindicating their rights, and also to the truth of history as asserted by the baronet, and to avoid partiality on either side; and therefore we inculcate the propriety in our appeal to the wisdom of the Deity, in directing us to a just and fair illustration of the facts.

The following is the prayer, and it is worthy of being written in letters of gold on the page of immortality.

*"Pater et Deus misericordie, da mihi, sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam; mitte eam de cœlis sanctis tuis, et a sede magnitudinis tue, ut mecum sit et mecum laboret, ut sciam quid acceptum sit apud te."*

*"Oh Father God of mercy, give me wisdom the assistant of thy seats; oh send her out of the holy heavens, and from the seat of thy greatness, that she may be present with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee." Amen.*

The people of Ireland have been from ages a persecuted race; and the energies of the nation have been generally exerted in supporting their rights and liberties. They wished for the mild influence of the British laws to be introduced among them; but where violence operated in the governing powers of Britain, the voice of resistance was heard

and the sword of vengeance was drawn to defend their rights and independence—How partial and unjust in many instances were the decisions of the English tribunals, in trials for life and death, where an Englishman and an Irishman were the subjects of the contest. For the life of an Englishman a fine was levied; but an Irishman was to suffer death for a similar offence and pay the forfeiture of his life, for the very crimes for which the other was exonerated by a fine—Great God! what kind of justice was this! Was it any wonder that the Irish blood boiled in their veins with resistance and vengeance against such a partial and criminal code? Even at this day the same spirit animates the Irish patriot and rouses him to maintain his political and religious rights, at the hazard of every thing near and dear to him. Who that has the soul of a republican, would not stand by him in this noble struggle? Who that has the heart of an Irishman, but will feel the strongest indignation against such proceedings, where the principle of justice is fled and the eye of pity and humanity is frozen into insensibility? Let us bring the case home to our feelings and test it by every fair and honourable sentiment that can inspire us with justice, patriotism and truth, and who can hesitate one moment in pronouncing the cause of Ireland, the cause of Heaven. No wonder therefore, if the mere Irish in sir John Davies' time, when a sheriff was appointed by the crown, to rule them with a rod of iron, urged that the brehon law should take effect, and they demanded that his eric should be fixed, and the penalty for his death should be determined.

Through the whole of this book, we have attempted to maintain the cause of an injured people, and heal up the wounds and sooth the sufferings of innocence and violated humanity. The present marquis and marchioness of Wellesley, call forth the most cordial expressions of our gratitude for their

illustrious efforts in the cause of a country where there is so much genius, literature, benevolence, magnanimity and valour—the tears of thousands will water their footsteps with the sincerest affection and the blessings of tens of thousands will accompany them to the gates of heaven, with anthems of praise, in celebrating the noble deeds they have done and are still doing, to emancipate the catholic, to literalize the protestant, and unite both in mutual and cordial zeal and attachment to the essential interests and prosperity of Ireland. Glorious undertaking and worthy of characters so amiable and exalted! May the Almighty crown their patriotic labours in so good a cause with success. Then will gratitude, pure and unaffected, resound from every part of the kingdom, and the heart of every Irishman be filled with the kindest affection, benevolence, peace and love.

“North and South here’s my hand,  
East and West here’s my heart, Oh! &c.”







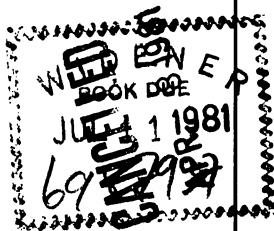






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